

GREEN LETTER

Vol. 6 No. 3
Winter 1990



\$2.00

Greener Times



"We Are All Mohawks"

Walt Bresette Keynotes the Third National Green Gathering—See Inside

A letter from Green Letter:

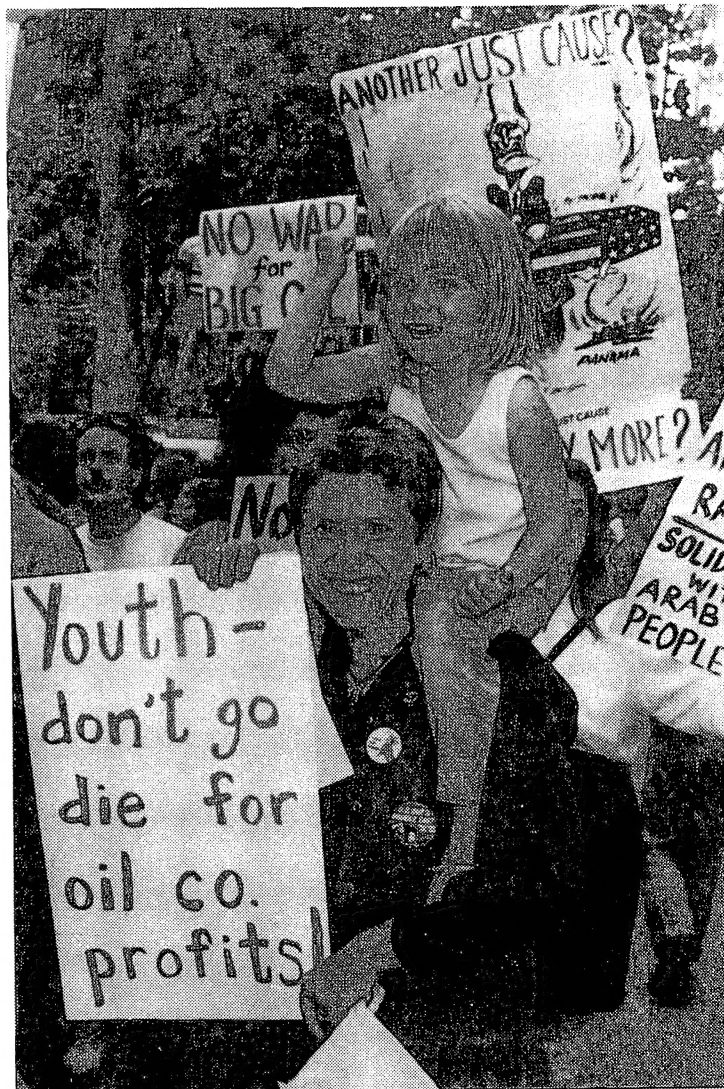
It seemed for a little while that peace was finally breaking out, but as we go to press, the drums of war are beating louder and faster. Just when it seemed there might be resources available to apply to the vast ecological and social problems which afflict our society, from wilderness destruction and species extinction to homelessness, hunger and poverty, the "environmental President"—and, let's not forget, ex-CIA director—has ignored our demands for a "Peace Dividend" (and what of the principle?), and diverted our attention from the S&L scandal, the Congressional Budget Circus, and approaching economic recession/depression, in the usual way—war.

But just as Vietnamese and U.S. popular resistance forced an end to U.S. military aggression in Vietnam, so too the shifting sands of the Middle East and increasing opposition to war among the U.S. people (as demonstrated in recent public opinion polls) may prevent the outbreak of war in the oil fields.

This past summer Greens and Bioregionalists raised their voices demanding peace, social justice and ecological restoration (see stories pages 16-17, 28ff). Recognizing the extreme injury which war inflicts on our fragile societies and eco-systems, *Green Letter* adds our voice to these demands with a special Green flyer on the Middle East (see page 10).

On a happier note, *Green Letter* is now being distributed nationally on newsstands. Alert readers may have noticed that we "skipped" the Fall issue (after all, it is Fall until December 22), but distributors advised us that the newsstand period, from November through January is "Winter." So be it. Rest assured, readers, that nobody will miss an issue of *Green Letter*; only the name has been changed to protect the innocent.

Finally, we welcome former intern Kristy Lee into the *Green Letter* collective, and Heidi Lieberman joins us as an intern. Their work has been crucial to putting out this issue.



The highly profitable Levi's plant in San Antonio closed despite Levi's record profits of \$272.3 million on sales of 3.6 billion in 1989. Levi's moved production to Costa Rica where they can pay workers \$0.60 per hour.

The ex-Levi workers in San Antonio, mostly Latinas, have organized themselves into "Fuerza Unida," an organization that represents 400 members. They have called a boycott of Levi products and they have filed a lawsuit against Levi Strauss for \$13 billion on behalf of all ex-Levi workers. Their 15 demands include everything from funding a state-wide study to determine the feasibility of the garment industry in Texas to more extensive severance pay and benefits.

For more information contact Maria Sixtos or Frances Estrello of Fuerza Unida at (512) 220-1250.

GREEN LETTER



Greener Times

Green Letter is an educational forum, published quarterly, covering the Green Movement. It is a project of the Tides Foundation.

The Green Committees of Correspondence is a network of local organizing groups throughout the United States. GCoC uses GL as a vehicle to disseminate Green news.

The **GL Collective**: Casey Adair, Margo Adair, George Franklin, Kristy Lee, Steve Nadel, Pamela Osgood, Blair Sandler; Intern: Heidi Lieberman

Special thanks for help on this issue to: Armstrong & Adair (for use of equipment), Charles Betz, Andrew Dumitru, Karl Erb-Guevara, Caroline Estes, Paul Lichterman, Kathryn Lynn, Mitra, Eric Odell, Terrie Schultz, Daniel Suman, Charles Varon

Signed articles do not necessarily represent the opinions of GL.

Correspondents: Rick Davis, Japan; Miguel Grinberg, Buenos Aires; Anna Gyorgy, Bonn; Neil Horner, Vancouver; Frank de Jong, Toronto; Jürgen Maier, Bonn; Ralph Meima, Sweden; Michael Modinas, Athens; Juan José Montiel, Nicaragua; Mercedes Pardo, Madrid; Sara Parkin, France; Mati Rahu, Estonia; Yannis Schizas, Athens; Anny Squire, England; Michael Feinstein, Los Angeles; Kate Fox, Youth Greens; Jim Habe, Illinois; Jay Hansen, Minnesota; Howard Hawkins, Left Greens; Gayle Hudgens; Kip Krueger, San Diego; Ross Mirkarimi, International Group; Connie Salamone, New York; Jeff Taylor, South Dakota; Bill Weinberg, New York; Betty Zisk, Massachusetts.

Subscriptions & address changes: Green Letter Subscriptions, P.O. Box 14141, San Francisco, CA 94114 (please include old label as well as new address). GCoC members please send address changes directly to GCoC Clearinghouse. Address all editorial, business and production correspondence to: Green Letter Editorial Collective, P.O. Box 14141, San Francisco, CA 94114.

Printed by Alonzo Printing Company and members of Graphic Communications International Union Local 583, on recycled paper, using soybean-based inks.



Contents

Theme Section: Movement Building

"We Are All Mohawks," <i>Walt Bresette</i>	2
Let Us Speak For Ourselves, <i>Margo Adair</i>	4
Don't Balance Your Gender with Me, <i>Ellen Smith</i>	6
Not In Anyone's Back Yard, <i>Sheila Cannon</i>	8
The Middle East: A Green Flyer	10
Trees for the Forests, <i>Kristy Lee</i>	11
From Kazakhstan to Georgia, <i>Pamela Osgood</i>	12
Catalyzing a New Student Movement, <i>Eric Odell & Charles Betz</i>	14
The Condor Meets the Eagle, <i>Alfredo Quarto</i>	15
NABC IV: Healing All Our Relations, <i>Blair Sandler & Margo Adair</i>	16
Invasion of the Animal-Loving Babykillers, <i>David Wheeler</i>	17
The Automotive Column, <i>Charles Varon</i>	18
Traditional Agriculture, New Agriculture, <i>Emma Torres</i>	19

Native American News. 20

International News

German Greens Prepare for Elections.	22
GATT: International Trade and Democracy.	24
Swedish Greens Address Parliamentary Problems.	24
New Zealand Greens Seek Proportional Representation.	25
Ontario Greens Campaign in Provincial Election.	26
Canadian Green Party Holds National Gathering.	27
1990 Green Gathering.	28-35
Green News.	36-43

Lancaster Greens; San Diego; West Virginia; University of West Florida; New England; 1990 Earth Day Actions; Northwood Greens; Cumberland Greens; New York City

Campus Greens Form New Network. 43

Green Almanac 38-39

Letters to Green Letter. 44-46

Book Reviews. 47

Special Section: The Green Program

Final Versions of Statements.	53-76
Index and Ratification Process	76

The Hodge Podge Page 77

Help Build the Greens. 78

"We Are All Mohawks"

Walt Bresette

Keynote address at the 1990
Green Gathering.

We need to stop sometimes and listen to other voices, and the voice that we are able to hear tonight comes from a man who brings us a vision of what it means to live a life of integrity in a country that has lost sight of integrity. His is not only the voice of an activist, but the voice of an artist, the voice of a journalist who lost his job because he dared to raise ecological issues when no one wanted to talk about them—and

the voice of an organizer, a man who organized the Lake Superior Greens. Most important for us now, he is a man who brings us the voice of non-violent direct action through his work in Wisconsin for treaty rights. Welcome Walt Bresette of the Chippewa nation.

Thank you. For the past few days, I've been sitting on the edges of all the circles that are going on here, trying to get some sense of who you are, and trying to absorb that so that I can take your power with me back home. But I sense a lot of fear, and I sense a lot of mistrust of each other—that's only natural, we really don't know each other yet. So more opportunities need to be created before we can find the reality of the vision that we have been talking about.

In trying to prepare for standing here, I needed to bring all my medicines because I know there are powerful people here. I needed to put my braids on, and my shirt, to protect myself and to ask the Creator and the Grandfathers in the family when I braid my hair who I think about, and the elders who have passed on before me to be with me.

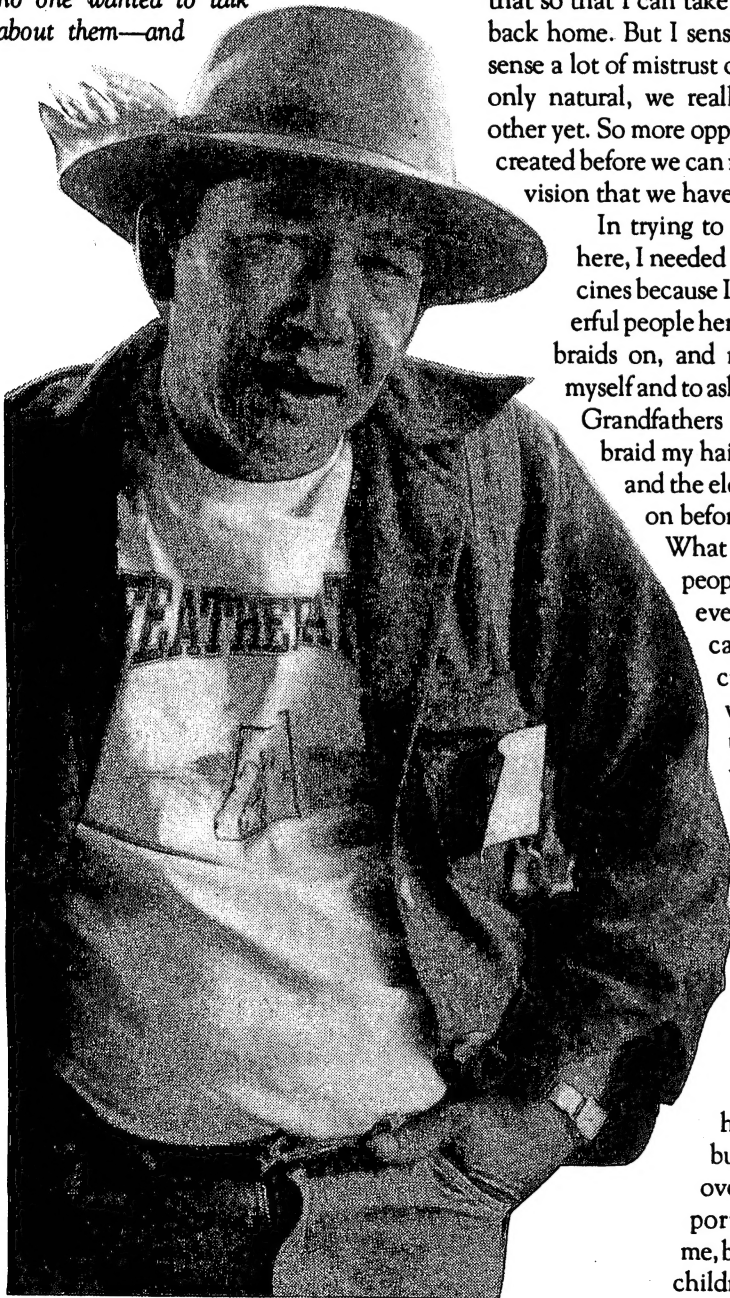
What can I say to these people who seem to know everything? What new can I bring to this crowd? I am at the wrong conference! I usually talk to people who don't know about what I have to say. So what I see here is a bunch of folks kind of "scouting-out-the-territory." Kind of sayin' "Well, shall we put the commissary over there and the bunk house over here...no, I think the bunk house should go over there..." Real important stuff...believe me, because some day your children are going to build

that bunk house, whether they call it a party, or something else. It's not going to be you, I know that! It ain't going to happen, I know that, but it can't happen for your children unless you do the work that you are doing right now. It is absolutely essential to begin setting up camp for those children who will come.

So the work that we're doing, the frustration, is worth it. It's worth it because we have spirit. Sometimes we don't understand that spirit, but that's what brings us together. And it's that *spirit* that I sense in these circles. It sometimes gets pushed aside, but it is always there and it's always important.

When I formed the Lake Superior Green Party, near my birthday, which happens to be the Fourth of July, I decided that this year—this was back in 1985—that I was going to give myself a gift. And I thought: what gift do I really want? And I was still smarting from that entree into this electoral process, frustrated by it. And I had heard vague notions of this thing called "Green." So I decided that what I was going to do was to create the Lake Superior Green Party. So I thought about that for a while and I said, well, who do I call? They're not in the phone book! And I thought about it for sometime and I thought, "Hell, I don't have to call nobody, do I? If what I understand is correct in terms of this movement that's afoot, it is spirit that's afoot. So I sat down, I typed out a press release...announced that on the Fourth of July, 1985, the Lake Superior Green Party would exist.

It was a declaration of independence from a system which was not satisfying the needs of my community and the earth, and was not enough to get us past where we needed to go. The Greens is a child who yearns so desperately to be born, that we have nothing to say about it. All we can do is scout out the territory. Our children and their children will be the ones who will determine whether it's a party or something else. However, it is important that you go through this process, but it is also important that you stop...regularly. Even in the middle of the plenary. Sometimes it's important to put your notebooks down, listen to the meditations, go out to talk to the grandfathers



who are around us here; and realize that you are creating—you—at this moment are creating a legend. And the story will go something like this:

A long time ago, in a place they used to call America, in a place they used to call Colorado, my great, great, great, great grandpa and my great, great, great, great grandma was at a meeting. And it was at that meeting in this place up in the mountains that they stood up, they held hands, they talked together, and they made a commitment to create a world that they would hand to us as we sit here tonight. It's your job

I haven't had an original thought in fifteen years. I doubt that there's been an original thought in fifteen years. But some old messages are worth repeatin'.

now to tell that story of what you have heard, what you have seen, who you have met and you need to tell it when you get home to your kids, to your lovers, to your spouses; and you need to tell the story over and over again. Don't put it in the newspaper. Newspapers are just as bad as television—just less passive. When we put everything to paper or to tape recorders, we lose a part of our brain function. We do! Oral tradition is one of the secrets of our success. And if you want to succeed in this movement, then you must start telling stories to your children, so that they can tell stories to their children, so that a long time from now there will be children to hear stories. The newspapers will be gone. But the stories will be there.

Let me tell you one story. It's a story of a struggle we're involved with in Northern Wisconsin. But it's the same story you have heard at Big Mountain. It's the same story that is going on now at Oka, it's the same story that's going on all over this globe. It just happens to be our story, that's all. You have your own stories; we're all Mohawks. We are one speech away from imprisonment. We're one payment away from homelessness. We are all Mohawks. You must believe me on that. And some day the troops will be here, knocking at your door, saying, "You can't say that - you can't do that. We're going to put a golf course on your cemetery." And it'll be your turn to say

"Okay, sir..." or "No." It will be your turn to do that and believe me they are going to come!

In Northern Wisconsin, following a court decision which affirmed our rights, Ojibway fishermen and fisherwomen have gone out to continue the traditional practice of taking fish by spear in the springtime. At the time that that news report came down, I was a reporter preparing for my five o'clock newscast. UPI rang its bells. I went to find out what was the message, and the lead graph said, "A three judge panel in Chicago has given the Lake Superior Chippewa unlimited

hunting and fishing rights." I read that and I said, they can't do that. No three judges anywhere can give anyone unlimited anything. It's not what they do. But I was the only

news agency in the state, if not the nation, who didn't run that story. Every one else did.

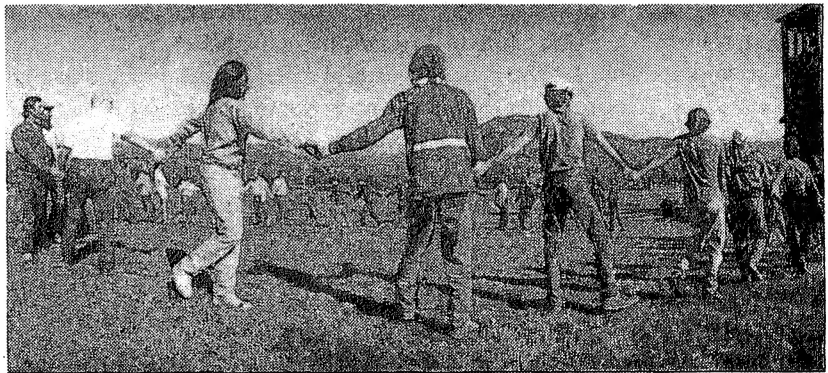
And the next morning the DNR said the only thing left in Northern Wisconsin will be water skiing after the Chippewa are done. After we go out and rape the lakes, take all the deer, whatever it is they thought we were going to do. That was their reaction. On the heels of that official reaction, which really became a state policy in terms of public perception, certain groups recognized opportunity and they took advantage of it. Soon, a public anti-Indian organization formed whose sole purpose it was to abrogate our rights. They put out material, suggesting

that we were worse than acid rain on the fishery.

As silly as that sounds, the public began to buy that, because both the anti-Indian forces and the state government was deliberately creating this atmosphere where the lead negotiator between the tribes and the state, then a DNR official characterized the Indians as the Iranians of the North. Resource terrorists! State policy creating this atmosphere, and the question is why?? You begin to question after a while. Is it true, are we really threatening the resource? Are we really doing things so bad that people will take up stones and bombs and guns against us? You say, oh god, maybe we are wrong. But then the warriors stand up, and they say: Remember what uncle said...and Grandpa said... when they went out to hunt, not so long ago, but before the court ruling, they were going to get supper, and when Grandpa went out they arrested him. And they took our food, they took our supper! And they threw grandpa in jail, and they took his gun; and in the eyes of the public that was okay, because grandpa was violating. Well, he wasn't. He knew it, and now the whole world knows that, because grandpa stood his ground just as the way these fisher people right now in Northern Wisconsin are standing their ground teaching us non-violence in the process.

And I know these guys, believe me, they have not studied Ghandi. I know what's hangin' on their wall; I know what's in their pick-up trucks...I've been in fights with them, yet these men and women who are being stoned, who are being intimidated, who are

continued on page 49



1990 Green Gathering

Complete coverage begins on page 28!

"Let Us Speak for Ourselves!"

Margo Adair

The following article was put together from two interviews with Richard Moore as well as several public meetings which Green Letter attended in August when we co-sponsored a benefit for SWOP.

The SouthWest Organizing Project (SWOP) shatters the stereotype that people of color are too busy surviving to be interested in environmental issues or involved in organizing. Throughout the eighties, SWOP, located in Albuquerque, New Mexico has been doing community organizing among Chicanos on toxins in their neighborhoods and workplaces. Moore, founder and co-director of SWOP says, "The mission of The SouthWest Organizing Project as we define it, is to empower the disenfranchised in the Southwest, to obtain racial, social, economic and political justice. So based on that, it's very important for us to become very good listeners, and to try to draw out, and that drawing out is participation, because in our opinion, the more that people are giving the explanations, the more that people are talking about what they perceive as the problems, then the more the program is going to be theirs—this organization is going to be theirs, this movement is going to be theirs.... We have several slogans we operate by, one is never do anything for anybody that they can do for themselves, and then we say "with training," and never ask anybody to do anything you wouldn't do—at least once."

SWOP has developed extremely effective strategies in getting community folks engaged in working for change and becoming leaders themselves. They do neighborhood surveys to find out what are the issues affecting folks, find and bring together those willing to work on specific concerns; they've designed what they call community environmental tours in which people see their own neighborhood in a new light. In addition they've done training sessions so that folks are prepared to go down to city council and raise a stink about their needs. SWOP has also held citizen hearings in which people give poignant testimonies on the impact of toxins on their health to clergy and legal advocacy organizations. [See *Green Letter*, Vol.4 No.3]

Moore reminds us that, "Historically,



Children's Choir at SWOP Earth Day Rally, Albuquerque, 1990

advocacy organizations—be they addressing lack of housing or nutrition—have not included the very people directly affected by the problems in deciding how to resolve them." SWOP's been working to eliminate this pattern which we now see repeating itself in the environmental movement. The fact is that environmental degradation impacts people of color more acutely than the rest of us, be it pesticide poisoning of farm workers, lead poisoning from paint in public housing, or toxic dumps placed in communities of people of color (race has been found to be the prime determining factor used for locating dump sites). Yet, as we all know, the environmental movement—both mainstream and grassroots is basically lily white. Needless to say, at this juncture we Greens are no better on this score.

Last spring SWOP sent out a letter challenging the "Big Ten," as these environmental organizations refer to themselves (Sierra Club, Sierra Club Legal Defense Fund, Friends of the Earth, Wilderness Society, National Audubon Society, Natural Resources Defense Council, Environmental Defense Fund, National Wildlife Federation, Izaak Walton League, and National Parks and Conservation Association. Less than 2% of the people in policy making positions in the Big Ten are people of color.

The letter was signed by over a hundred

individuals from churches, universities, unions, cultural and community groups throughout the Southwest. It states, "We are writing this letter in the belief that through dialogue and mutual strategizing we can create a global environmental movement that protects us all." They are not just playing a numbers game, Moore says, "The issue is where people come from and who they are accountable to." SWOP's position is that people who live in the communities should be part of determining policy and the work must be directly accountable to those affected by it. Moore asks "Who are The Big Ten accountable to when companies like GE, Waste Management, IBM, Dow Chemical, Exxon and Duke Power are funding them?" Further, the letter points out:

- Legislation was passed in December, 1987 to annex lands to form El Malpais National Monument in New Mexico. 13,000 acres were considered to be the ancestral holdings of the Pueblo of Acoma. "Conservation" groups such as the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society supported the bill in complete disregard for the cultural heritage of the Acoma people.

- The Nature Conservancy, National Audubon Society, and others are opposing the grazing of sheep on the Humphries and Sargent Wildlife areas by a local, highly successful economic development project

run by Chicanos in Northern New Mexico, one of the most economically depressed areas in the United States. Due to the encroachment of major tourism development companies in the area and consequent loss of private pastoral land historically controlled by local Chicanos, this grazing is considered essential to the continued viability of the project. Despite the fact that this grazing is considered by many to be an ecologically sound practice, these environmental organizations have chosen to "shoot from the hip" in their response to this proposed activity and are opposing the reasoned alternative of those who have lived in the region for hundreds of years.

- Organizations such as the National Wildlife Federation have been involved in exchanges where Third World countries will sign over lands (debt-for-nature swaps) to conservation groups in exchange for creditors agreeing to erase a portion of that country's debt. In other cases, the debt is purchased at reduced rates; the creditors can then write it off. This not only raises the specter of conservation groups now being "creditors" to Third World countries, but legitimizes the debt itself through the further expropriation of Third World Resources. The question arises whether such deals are in the long term economic interests of both the countries involved and of the people living on the land.

Nine of the Big Ten have committed themselves to participating in a National Dialogue that is planned for some time next year. Change is afoot!

Meanwhile SWOP has also been organizing The Southwest Network for Environmental and Economic Justice which is made up of local activists throughout the Southwest—primarily people of color. Over 75 activists from Colorado, Texas, Utah, Arizona, California Oklahoma, Nevada and Indian Nations attended the first meeting last April. They have met twice since then. They will be inviting Nelson Mandela and representatives of COICA (Coordinating Body of the Indigenous Peoples Organizations of the Amazon) to the Southwest; they're looking into the internal functioning of the EPA and its impact—or lack thereof. They are now engaged in extending the network deeper into Texas, the SF Bay Area and LA. In addition they are drafting papers on such questions as water rights, treaties, land grants and economic blackmail—i.e. "better a toxic job than no job." These papers are to facilitate next year's dialogue with the Big Ten.

They are also planning a southwest environmental tour for youth of color who have been victimized by environmental and economic injustice. This is so that youth can educate themselves by talking to one another. It is hoped that this will inspire them to get involved. Another piece the network has planned is the SW Training and Action Institute which will train activists who want to work both within the network, in community based organizations and/or in environmental organizations.

The Network sent out a letter to the grassroots environmental organizations acknowledging the different nature of their organizations while it challenged them on the fact that they too do not have people of color in policy making positions. This letter was sent to the executive directors of Na-

tional Toxins Campaign, Greenpeace, Texas Center for Policy Studies, SW Research and Information Center, New Mexico Environmental Law Center, Environmental Action, Rural Alliance for Military Accountability, Citizens Clearinghouse for Hazardous Waste and NM Public Interest Research Group. Again they want to enter a constructive

**Advocacy organizations
have not included the very
people directly effected by
the problems**

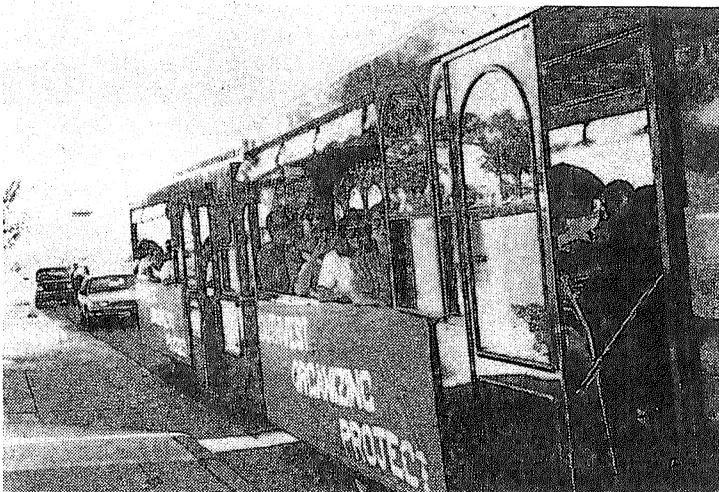
dialogue to resolve the problems.

Although one of the organizations brought someone onto their board who had been doing work in her community for years and another has scheduled a meeting with a representative from the network, for the most part, Moore reported, "I'll be real honest with you, we're not happy with the response we've gotten; we're not being taken as seriously as we were by the Big Ten. Every organization we have written to, we addressed the letters to the directors. With the Big Ten, the directors responded directly to us but the pattern with most of the grassroots groups was that someone lower down responded to the letter saying something to the effect, 'Yes we know this is a problem, we're looking into it.' We consider this very disrespectful."

There are now activists of color in both the Northeast and Southeast who are wanting to pull together similar networks. As Greens we need to welcome these stirrings in the movement because they are cutting right through the patterns of racism and classism which, despite our best intentions, we also duplicate in our own organizing efforts. Finally there are developments that promise to create a new basis upon which to work.

Note: Moore relayed to us that the funding base SWOP has been dependent on is now drying up as a result of challenging some of the foundations' "pet" projects. If you can help out, please send a tax-deductible donation to:

SouthWest Organizing Project
211 10th Street S.W.
Albuquerque, NM 87102



SWOP Community Environmental Tour, Albuquerque, August 1990

Don't Balance Your Gender with Me

Ellen Smith

After 15 years of organizing, I have never been in as much demand as in Green circles. If I want to facilitate or speak, I'm on the program in a matter of minutes. At first I was flattered. After all, I'm a good facilitator and speaker. Then I was burdened with invitations that I wasn't too sure about. Now I am pissed! I have been gender-balanced to my limit!

The problem

Let me give you a few familiar examples from my own and other women's experiences:

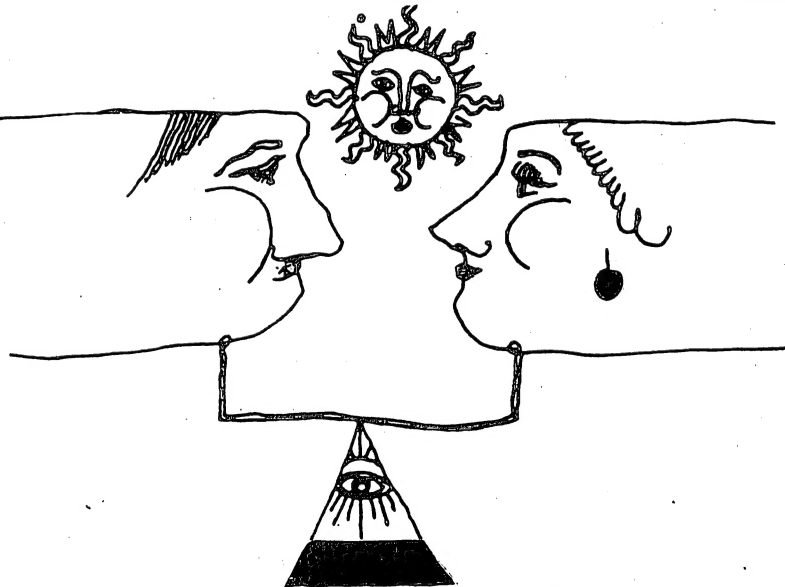
- "But you can't leave town that weekend, that will ruin the gender balance of the speaker line up."
- "You have to volunteer. You're the only woman here right now and we can't have a committee without gender balance."
- "We haven't got room for the African-American speaker, we already have enough men speaking."
- "Two women can't represent us, we have to send one man to balance gender."

What is this preoccupation with gender balance? The 80's taught us the value of women's thinking and everyone is anxious to "do it right" this time around. The solution, however, is not biological. Replacing male bodies with female bodies solves nothing. Most groups want women, but do not want to do things women's ways. This is especially apparent when women of color come around Greens.

Although some women act in what I label "Men's Ways," and some men act in what I call "Women's Ways," the above list is what tends to happen depending which gender sets the tone.

Toward a solution

I am spokesperson for the Upper Great Lakes Green Network. We have been very successful in organizing women. Our council is predominantly women, our gatherings are more than half women. Our issues are not



Men's Ways	Women's Ways
Many agenda items / efficient decisions	Few agenda items / thorough discussion
Struggle for correct decisions	Discover where we agree
Leave it to the lawyers and legislators	Get the grassroots involved in action
Arrive after the pot luck for the meeting	Share food and recipes together
Meet all night if we have to	Include family time on a long night or weekend
Drink beer and listen to music	Take time for spiritual / cultural sharing
Run for office	Network and support each others' interests

traditional "women's" issues (treaty support, anti-mining, anti-incineration and toxins). I do not think that issues make the difference in gender balance. The difference is how we work together:

- We gather only 2 to 3 times per year leaving the majority of the year for each of us to work on local issues and community building.

- We develop facilitators and speakers, both men and women, internally rather than look for experts from the outside.

- We invite speakers who know their issue, not because of gender. Amazingly enough, we have always found women on the front lines of most issues (from incineration to treaty rights). They are on the front

lines because that is where they live, not because they are academic experts. They speak with concrete knowledge and passion.

Conclusion

Most coordinating and decision making happens in between gatherings by anyone who is interested but especially by those ten people pledged to carry on the business of the network for the year.

In contrast to these weekends, most traditional weekends of continuous meetings leave me feeling that only a small part of my being has been tapped. The children are angry and don't want to come back. I'm usually frustrated with too many people trying to make too many decisions. I've either

said too much or too little. I vow never to return and then can't stay away.

After a Network gathering, however, I am usually exhilarated, the children beg to stay. I have gotten not only educated about issues, but about new ways of thinking...and I've done something to support a struggle, not just discussed it.

Please join us in Wisconsin, Minnesota or Upper Michigan. Subscribe to the *Green Net* to keep in touch. I'll send you a complimentary copy for just a post card. Upper Great Lakes Greens, PO Box 16471, Milwaukee, WI 53216.

Ellen Smith is a mother, wife, alternative school director, community organizer, and council member of the Milwaukee Greens and the Upper Great Lakes Green Network.



The following is an empowering formula for gatherings with estimated times:



Day 1

Opening (30 min) This is anything from a poem to a tobacco ceremony (again, no "experts").

Educational (2 hours) Presented by the sponsoring local.

Ceremony (1 hour) Spiritual and optional.

Family Time (2 hours)

Pot Luck Dinner (1 hour)

Cultural Sharing (3 hours) Music, drama, comedy, stories. We have even begun to write our own ballads of our victories.

Day 2

Opening

Network Meetings (3 hours) Everyone comes with questions on organizing or requests for help or information. We share defeat and victory. Any decisions or passing of resolutions is a small part of the agenda.

Closing (30 min)

Pot Luck Lunch

Action (1 to 2 hours) We are all together, why not use the opportunity to hold a vigil at the Dept of Natural Resources or witness at a boatlanding? This is good training for beginners.

Breaking Old Patterns Weaving New Ties

Alliance Building

by Margo Adair and Sharon Howell

Newly Released !

"For those of us who prefer to move forward rather than run around in circles and fall exhausted."

Holly Near

Why do we hear so much about diversity from progressive organizations which remain so homogeneous?

Why are so many people who agree with the ideas of disarmament, ecology, and solidarity struggles turned off by organizations working for these goals?

In our political work, why do we reproduce dynamics that reflect the same domination and control that we oppose in the larger society?

Will we ever create a movement that includes the many voices that make up our country?

Contents:

Breaking Old Patterns

Constricted Culture

The "Outsider"

The Schism

Protecting Privilege

Guilt

Economic and Technological Thinking

Weaving New Ties

Opening the Context

Politics of Principle

At the Base of Our Relationships

Nurturing Our Relationships

Keeping Competition in Check

Equalizing Relations: a Checklist

Clarifying Conflict

Constructive Criticism

Talking Circles

Available for \$5.00 from:

TOOLS FOR CHANGE

P.O. Box 14141G

S.F. CA 94114

Adair and Howell's previous pamphlet The Subjective Side of Politics is also available for \$5.



Not In Anyone's Backyard!

Sheila Cannon

The following is a condensed version of Sheila Cannon's presentation at a forum on the Siting of Toxic Activities in Poor Communities and Communities of Color at UC Berkeley last April. Sheila Cannon is a community activist involved in forming the community group "Concerned Citizens of South Central LA" who united over the attempt of Lancer Corporation to build an incinerator in their neighborhood.

When you talk about people of color and environmental issues, you talk about a number of things. We consider our environment to be those things that are around us. It means housing, land use, air, and water.

There's been a lot of myths about Blacks normally not concerned about their environment. When you deal with the big top ten organizations such as the Sierra Club, they're talking about water and sea animals. They're talking about the trees, the wildlife. To us, environment is a little bit more serious.

You have to come from a certain neighborhood. You learn from being poor and living in a black community. You learn to struggle, you learn survival, common sense. In doing so, we learned a lot of things about our environment. Back in about '84, the city of LA decided they needed a place to put their garbage. At the time, there were 25 sites for an incinerator they wanted to build. At that time, our neighborhood wasn't even considered for this project. We were added as number 26. Our councilman said, "I will take it because my

community needs jobs. I will take it also because you are going to give me \$10 million to put this in my backyard."

My sister went to the first meeting and called me that night saying, "Sheila, they're trying to kill us. I just left this meeting and these folks are talking about skin rashes, lesions and tumors." I said, "What are you talking about?" She said, "They're trying to build this incinerator. You better come on." They gave my sister a book of about a thousand pages on environmental impact reporting. They didn't know that she had been reading from the time that she was 3 years old. She got this book and kept going through it and said, "Oh my God." So we went and started knocking on doors — and, the next week Concerned Citizens was formed.

We met diligently every Saturday. We began to read and to educate ourselves. We didn't need a Ph.D. in science or chemistry. They had failed to realize that in that little, no-name community, my sister worked for the city and was making \$50,000 a year. She lived in South Central, not because she had to, but by choice. We had people in our community who had Ph.D.s in Political Science and when the Lancer project came up, all of these people came to surface.

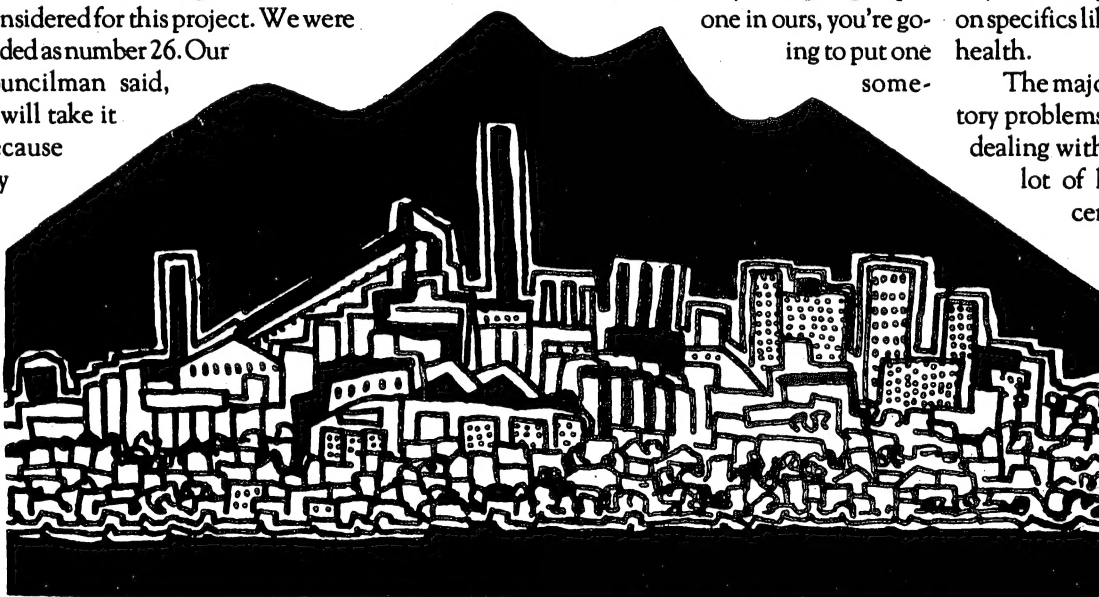
It was hard because this was something that we had never dealt with—we didn't know how to get the message across. Then we talked about race—if you're going to put one in ours, you're going to put one some-

where else. The Council said, "You are going to be the first experimental guinea pig. You're going to be Lancer I. Then we're going to have Lancer II on the West-Side and Lancer III in the San Fernando Valley."

I began to call up every organization I could find and made presentations everywhere I went. That's a part of organizing, you have to be persistent. What made me so persistent was the fact that I am Black. Because I wasn't supposed to know anything. When I first started speaking, I was still speaking broken English. I didn't know all that good technical stuff. As time went on, I learned how to get my message across. I went to Pacific Palisades, Hacienda Heights, Westwood, all the lavish places in LA and said, "You're going to have to help us, because if you don't help us, you're going to get one!"

We grew this coalition. We had all of these things going in and around this particular neighborhood and everybody had his or her own issue. We decided to build a coalition around this particular issue but also help each other around the issues that they were working with. We kept going to city council, we went the first time with 100, the next time, 200 and when that final big meeting came, we had over a thousand people. There wasn't even standing or sitting room. We had technical experts from all over the city. At that particular time, they didn't hit on specifics like how was it going to affect our health.

The majority of us have asthma, respiratory problems, cancer, hypertension. We're dealing with an area that's plagued with a lot of health problems, and trauma centers are closing down. They are talking about trucking in Dioxins and chemicals. When they told me Agent Orange I said, "Wait a minute, here we go again." And we got some of the vets involved. We went to everybody that we thought we could get. I called all the way to Richmond and Washington, DC. We even picketed. My baby was 1-year old when I started, but she was on the picket





line by the time she was 2. We picketed, we marched, we did the door-to door.

When organizing in communities you have to see what that community is made of, the race, the background. You can't go in and talk technical mumbo-jumbo that they're not going to understand. You have to deal with them on their level. You have to cross those barriers. When you do that, you bring things together on a common ground and that pulls in resources from everywhere.

That was one of the things I did. I was a trouble-shooter, and a trouble-starter. I'd call downtown, "Sheila Cannon! Oh that's the one who humiliated the mayor." I really made that kind of impact and for that I'm glad. Don't ever let anyone tell you that Blacks aren't just as concerned as you are about their environment because that's a lie. I'm here to tell you because I worked five years of my life to make sure that my environment was safe and clean from incineration. We do not have and we will not have, if I have anything to do with it, an incinerator in that neighborhood.

Politically, it's a battle. During the time that we were fighting Lancer, there were at least four candidates running for office. We made sure that we were at every political campaign hearing there was. Lancer was the key issue throughout the whole campaign—we brought the issues up. When we did that, we raised the awareness of people throughout the city.

I was taken to the side and told, "You

better shut up, because we're talking about a lot of money and you might come up dead." I said, "Well, you're going to have to do what you're going to have to do." We're talking about a project worth over \$250 million. And, we don't know the buy-offs and the pay-offs and the trade-offs.

Those are the kinds of politics that are played in this kind of game—it's a very dangerous game to deal with but that's back to the persistence part. One of the things that people forget when they're dealing with issues such as these, they forget where they came from. And, where you came from got you to where you are today. I never wanted

to forget where I came from because my understanding made me a better person in dealing with these issues.

In my family, my mother has 8 children and about 20 grandchildren. We all lived in that same district and when we came out, we came in numbers. Even my mother carried a picket sign. When you're dealing with organizing, you're not only organized around your community, you organize within your home, you educate your people first. Let them know what's going on around them, no matter what the issues are. I was on every television show that I could possibly get on. I was in every newspaper. Every week, we had some type of action that brought about a change to what took place in the city of LA and for that I am extremely proud. My kids now can look back and say, "Well mom was like a Martin Luther King, only she was a woman." I can feel good about that. I want them to be aware of the fact that when it's something you truly believe in, and it's worth fighting for, then you fight for it no matter what the cost is. And, that's the bottom line on dealing with organizing in your community.

Movement Action Plan

The Movement Action Plan provides activists with a practical, how-to-do-it analytical tool for evaluating and organizing social movements that are focused on national and international issues, such as nuclear energy and weapons, non-intervention in Central America, civil and human rights, AIDS, democracy and freedom, apartheid or ecological responsibility.

MAP describes eight stages through which social movements normally progress over a period of years and decades. For each stage, MAP describes the role of the public, powerholders, and the movement. It provides organizers with a map of the long road of successful movements, which helps them guide their movement along the way.

The purpose of MAP is to give activists hope and empowerment, increase the effectiveness of social movements, and reduce the discouragement that often contributes to individual burnout, dropout, and the winding down of social movements.

To order copies of the MAP tabloid, send \$1 per copy to Social Movement Empowering Project, 721 Shrader St, San Francisco CA 94117. Bill Moyer, Project Co-ordinator, (415)387-3361. Bulk rates available.

Also available from SMEP: The Practical Strategist by Bill Moyer, 20pp tabloid, \$3ppd.



War Abroad, War at Home

Why are we going to war?

It is not because one country has so much control over world oil reserves that the United States decided to land troops in the Middle East. After all, the Saudi family controls 25% of world reserves, but it is difficult to visualize the U.S. president sending troops to prevent Saudi Arabia from controlling Iraq, Iran or Kuwait's oil reserves.

Mr. Bush ordered troops to the Middle East because Saddam acted as an independent Third World leader who sought to challenge the North over the issue of control of a vital resource.

To be sure Saddam acted illegally when he invaded and annexed Kuwait, but so did the United States when it invaded Panama in 1989, or Israel when it invaded and annexed the West Bank.

Abbas Alnaswari, Professor of Economics, University of Vermont, excerpted from article in Left Green Notes, September 1990.

Despite the evaporation of the "Soviet threat," the military expansion of the Reagan-Bush era continues unabated, and the peace dividend is quietly buried in the Middle Eastern sands.

It seems as if the U.S. government and corporations have declared war on their own people. Prison populations swell, homelessness and infant mortality soar. One ecological catastrophe follows another as the U.S. economy lurches toward a major recession.

Federal budget spectacles end with slashes in medicare and other traditional safety nets while increasing consumer taxes, all at the expense of elderly, women, working class and poor people. Under the flag of "wars" against crime and drugs, the crises in our increasingly unliveable cities are manipulated to justify repression

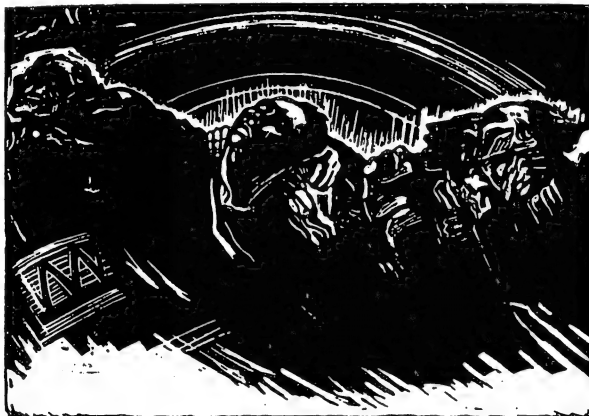
and occupation of communities of color.

Like the Titanic's owners, the Republican-Democratic state managers are more concerned with their own luxury than with providing lifeboats for the majority. The icebergs are visible all around us. Can we stop the madmen at the helm in time?

*Steve Nadel and George Franklin,
Green Letter*

**For more
information,
contact:**

Coalition to Stop U.S.
Intervention in the Middle
East, 36 E.12th St, 6th
floor, New York, NY 10003,
(212) 254-2295



Graphics by Kathe Kollwitz, from *War Series*, c.1925

Flyer designed by *Green Letter*, PO Box 14141, San Francisco CA 94114

Trees for the Forests

Legislation and Civil Disobedience: Activists Speak for the Trees

As we go to press Californians are immersed in a controversial ballot initiative. Voters will be deciding on reforms of forestry practices that have remained the same since the 1970s. Since then corporations like MAXXAM have entered the timber business causing drastic changes in tree harvesting practices and moving operations to third world countries.

Over the last five years destruction of California's ancient forests has doubled; clearcutting and slash and burn tactics have become the norm, adding to global warming, species endangerment and the waste of our natural resources. Currently, there is less than 5% of the original old growth forests remaining, and 90% of this is unprotected from the threat of harvest. One hundred and fifty giants fall each day, half of which are exported in the shape of raw logs, lumber and wood chips to foreign businesses. Products made with these are then bought back by Northern Americans at high prices, causing millions of dollars in income and taxes to be lost.

In response to these problems citizens have created the Forest and Wildlife Protec-

tion and Bond Act of 1990, also called Forests Forever. Biologists, environmental activists and economists identified the reforms needed to implement sustainable logging practices and secure jobs within the logging communities. It has been met with great enthusiasm, raising record amounts of support throughout the state. In seven weeks volunteers and canvassers gathered over 800,000 signatures. In San Francisco alone, 1000 people raised 60,000 signatures — nearly 10,000 a week. In addition to this tremendous grassroots support the initiative is supported by Earth Island Action Group, Environmental Protection and Information Center, Natural Resource Defense Council and the Sierra Club.

Forests Forever is a bold reform that its supporters feel is needed to change the existing forestry practices in this state and save irreplaceable ecosystems as well as jobs. If passed, similar initiatives may be considered in Oregon and Washington. Environmentalists in both northern states are watching this election with plans for adopting similar reforms in their forests as deforestation becomes less easy to hide.

If the Forest and Wildlife Protection and Bond Act of 1990 is passed it will:

- provide \$710 million for the acquisition of "headwaters Forest" the largest unprotected virgin redwood forest as well as other critical patches
- ban clearcutting
- mandate "selective" logging practices
- define clearcutting as over 60% removal of over 2.5 acres at a time
- require Board of Forestry to enforce specified sustained yield standards
- end corporate domination of the State Board of Forestry; the Board would be representative of the community and environmental interests.
- require all state approved Timber Harvest Plans to include any environmental protection measures recommended by the Dept. of Fish and Game

For more information on Forests Forever and the future of California's ancient forests write or call:

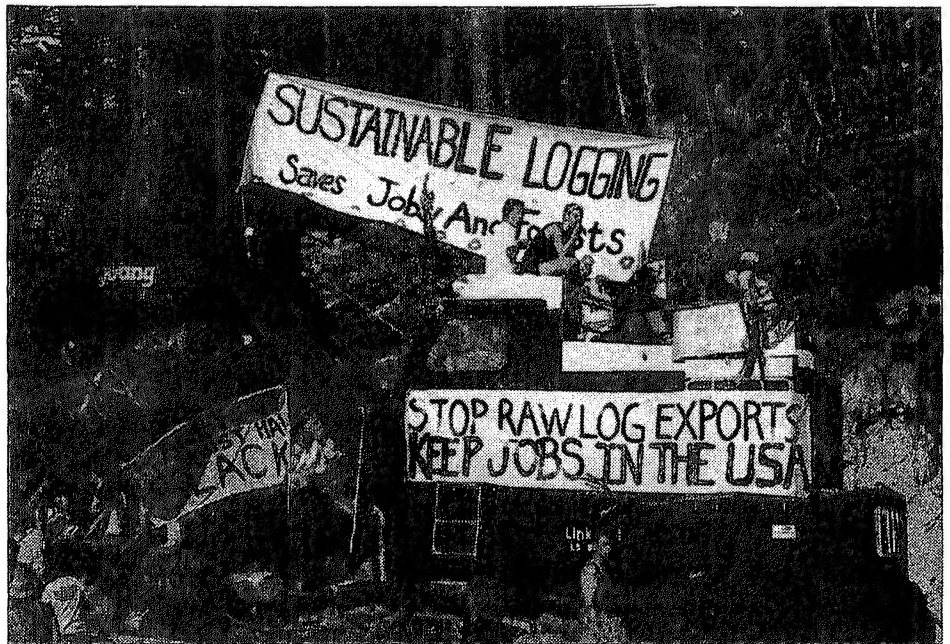
Forests Forever, 106 W. Standley, Ukiah, CA. 95482, (707) 462-4922.

The Middle East: A Green Flyer

Green Letter designed this flyer based on statements from various sources.

Thanks to James J. Sloan of Salinas, California for the idea.

Add local contact
and xerox this
page



Redwood Summer: Thousands of environmental activists came to the ancient forests of California this past summer in a nonviolent attempt to bring attention to and slow deforestation in the state. Direct action, marches and rallies focused on issues of sustainable logging, ceasing the exportation of logs, secure jobs for loggers and their families and ending corporate control of the timber industry.

From Kazakhstan...

Green Letter's Pamela Osgood spent four weeks in the Soviet Union, networking with peace, environmental and anti-nuclear activists

I had the great privilege to attend the People's International Congress for a Nuclear Test Ban in Alma Ata, Kazakhstan, USSR in May 1990. The congress was organized jointly by the International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW) and the Nevada Semi-Palatinsk Movement, the young but strong anti-testing movement in Kazakhstan.

As someone who has worked for a test ban for years now, I find it incredible to realize that the USSR has not tested any nuclear bombs for an entire year and, somehow the American people don't even know it. Of course, the government has not officially declared a test ban, (though they may

by the time you read this). Testing has stopped in Semi-Palatinsk because of the outcry of the people there and the strong support of the miners (threatening to go on strike if the testing resumes).

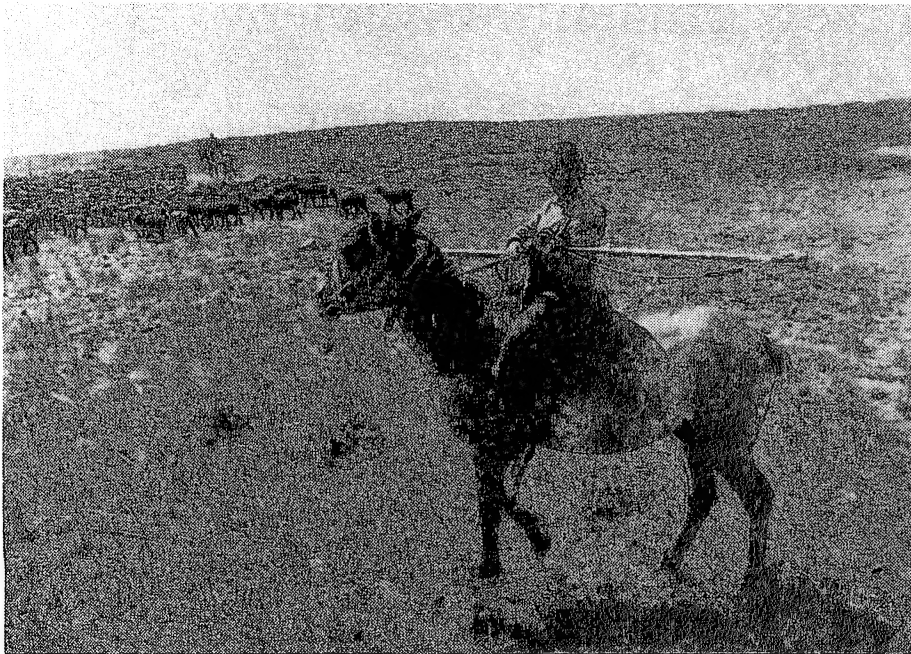
At the congress we watched an incredible new documentary called "Poligon" or in English, "Testing Ground," the story of the Semi-Palatinsk test site. We learned that in order to avoid opposition to testing, the government had decided to move back to the Novaya Zemlya site in Siberia. However, people in the Nevada Movement (which is named in solidarity with protests of U.S. testing at the Nevada Test Site—see announcement page 52) are working to support the people of Novaya Zemlya. We held a demonstration and rally after the congress—marching through the streets of Alma Ata, the capitol.

After the rally outside the stadium I joined a young Dutch participant who was holding a sign in Russian which said, "It is a human right to resist military service...." You can imagine the crowd that gathered around him. A lively exchange ensued in which a young Kazakh said "If I ever went to America I would not be able to shake the hand of a white man because the American government has done the same thing to the Indians that the Soviet government has done to us." One man in tears told me how many members of his family had died from radiation-related illnesses and how his young nephew had just committed suicide. I remembered how the film had talked about the high rate of suicide of people living near the test site.

The following day we flew to the city of Semi-Palatinsk and then traveled by bus for 4 hours (stopping once for a feast and an incredible cultural event in the middle of a complete wilderness area) to the village of Karaul next to the test site. It was a very moving experience to actually meet these people who had suffered so from nuclear testing but who were not afraid to speak out for immediate cessation of it. They seemed to hold so much hope in us, the foreigners who cared enough to come there and who they felt surely would be able to help them. We were again entertained by all the children of the village and of course treated to another feast as we had been every night since we came. The hospitality I experienced in Kazakhstan has never been surpassed in my experience as a world traveler.

It was most interesting just dropping by a school,





...to Georgia

at the invitation of children who had greeted us at the congress. All the children seemed to be well aware of the problems of radiation and what had happened to them and their land as a result of testing. A few days later, I had a rare opportunity to visit a collective farm in Kazakhstan. The whole farm had joined the Nevada Movement.

While visiting the office of the movement, I saw the mail they had received that day—lots of letters from school children who were sending them support and money. The Nevada Movement is obviously interested in making contact with any groups who are working for a test ban and I learned there that their leader, Sulliemenov, a new people's deputy in Moscow, spends about one third of his time working for a test ban.

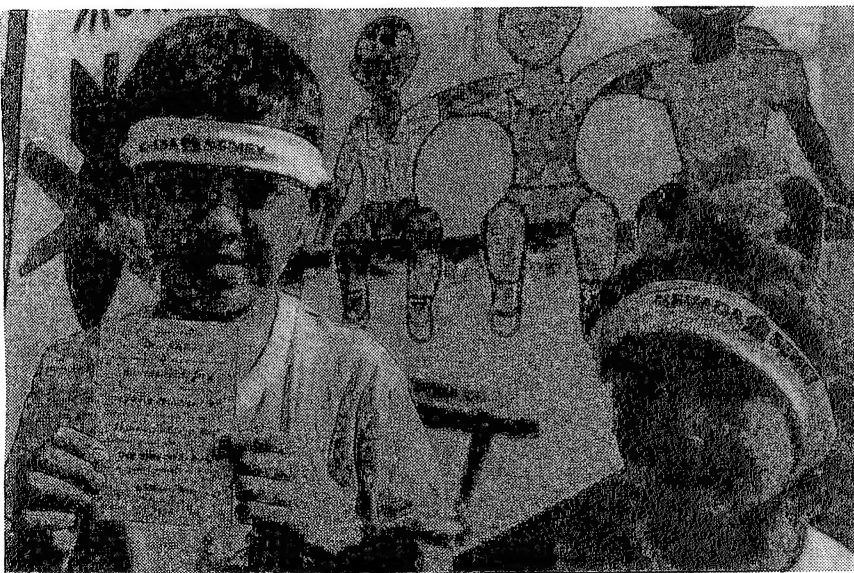
Well, after such an intense time in Kazakhstan, it was hard to believe

that any experience in the next three weeks could possibly be as interesting, but in Kiev we witnessed demonstrations every day—for more autonomy, for multi-party elections, etc.

Then in Georgia the Greens were our hosts and they were as much fun as the time was fascinating. So much had changed since I had been there the year before. In Tbilisi, the capitol, the movement has its headquarters in a green building in a park. The Green Movement includes the Green Party and other opposition parties as well as unaffiliated folks. And they are doing fantastic work. We arrived in the midst of a hunger strike at the university. In my ignorance I thought that their goals were completely unreasonable and I feared for the lives of the 5 young men. But after 12 days of meeting with the government every day—all their demands were met and there shall be free multi-party elections this year—with all the seats challenged.

We were also able to visit Caspee, a village where the Greens are fighting against

continued on page 48



Photos, clockwise from top: Young shepherd near test site; young Kazakhis with flags at Semi-Palatinsk airport; two children with "Nevada Movement" headbands; May 1990 demonstration at Karaul. Photos c.1990 James Lerager

Catalyzing a New Student Movement

"Talkin' about a revolution sounds like a whisper" Tracy Chapman

The last nail has been decisively pounded into the coffin of 1980s student apathy. The tide of student and youth activism again rises, and this time it is carrying a green banner. This last weekend, the second national conference—"CATALYST"—of the Student Environmental Action Coalition, or SEAC (rhymes with "peak") occurred on the campus of the University of Illinois at Champaign-Urbana (U of I). Over seven thousand students from all fifty states and eleven countries attended and spent the weekend talking, listening, learning and having fun. It was incredible. It was awe-inspiring. It was the biggest student activist conference the U.S. has ever seen. We in the University of Minnesota Campus Greens who attended came away with great feelings of hope and optimism for the future. Maybe, just maybe, we can save the world

and the human race after all. At the conference plenaries, which had to take place in U of I's basketball arena, students heard rousing speeches and panels including Jesse Jackson, Helen Caldicott, Robert Redford, Winona LaDuke (a powerful Native American activist and writer from White Earth, Minnesota), Ralph Nader, along with other prominent activists and many student speakers. Students led over one hundred and thirty workshops on every topic imaginable.

Two primary themes pervaded the entire conference. The first is that we cannot separate our environmental crisis from the social crises inflicted upon our society. If we are to save the planet, we must also fight economic injustice, racism, sexism, imperialism, homophobia and all of our other problems all at the same time. They are all inextricably interconnected, just as are all the different parts of an ecosystem. Ageism in particular came in for repeated criticism, as the conference's young participants expressed

their anger at the theft of their future by those in power, who will be dead and gone when the bills come due. The second overwhelming opinion was that solving these urgent problems demands fundamental social change. Limited band-aid reforms—some new legislation here, some money directed there—will not solve anything. To right a world gone horribly wrong requires nothing less than a revolution in thought, ways of life and power structures. In order to achieve these goals, people repeatedly affirmed, to loud cheers, the right to engage in direct action when necessary.

The national campaign taken up by SEAC for this school year is a campaign for corporate accountability. One of the most fundamental causes of the destruction of our natural environment is the existence of large corporations and their lack of accountability to anyone except themselves and their stockholders. When a corporation has a singular goal of extracting as much wealth

as possible from the world's natural resources and from the labor of human workers, other concerns such as the health of employees and people in the community, the stability of natural ecosystems or the welfare of future generations are given no more than "read my lips" service. The goal of this national campaign is thus to push for more accountability of corporations to the people, to the planet and to

the future.

Strong sentiment was expressed at the conference against U.S. intervention in the Persian Gulf. A well-attended workshop provided the necessary background about the United States' imperialist foreign policy and greedy energy policies which led to the crisis. Suggestions and support for anti-war activism were raised at a majority of the regional meetings. "Hell no, we won't go, we won't die for Amoco!"

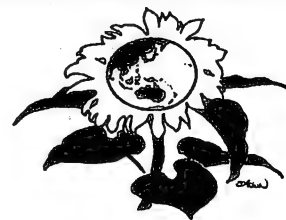
High points: the huge march down U of I's Frat Row, where beer-drinking fraternity brothers scratched their heads at the thousands waving green flags and waving them to join in. A thousand tents at the Champaign

County fairgrounds. The enticingly danceable Afro-folk rhythms of Casselberry-Dupree. A hundred young people running hand in hand through a fairgrounds field, laughing, singing, and playing "crack the whip" by the light of a nearly full moon and the music of drums. Billy Bragg denouncing Stalinism and capitalism and calling for a "socialism of the heart," to the cheers of thousands. Darryl Cherney's inimitable campfire concert. And so many more...

All Greens should take the implications of this conference with the utmost seriousness. Students have historically provided a motor force to popular movements throughout the world. The Catalyst conference has at one stroke decisively redefined both youth and ecological politics in this country. SEAC is Green, no two ways about it; all ten key values are manifest in SEAC's philosophy and/or its practice. In the past two years, SEAC has grown to over 2,000 chapters and has decentralized its structure to provide for control from the grassroots up. What will be the relationship between SEAC and the Greens? Will this relationship encourage former SEAC members to move into Green community organizing when they leave school? There is doubtless a SEAC chapter near you; are you in touch? The thousands who attended Catalyst are now going back to their schools across the country and around the world to put into practice the ideas, programs and energy they derived from this gathering. That whisper Tracy Chapman sings about has grown into a shout. Soon it will become a roar so loud the powerful will have to stop their ears.

Eric Odell and Charles Betz

Eric Odell and Charles Betz are members of the University of Minnesota Campus Greens



**Campus Greens form
new network—see
page 43**

The Condor Meets the Eagle

Alfredo Quarto

"The beginning of the liberation of the Indian people would be symbolized by different prophesies, one of which is the union of the tears of the Condor of Urin and the Eagle of Hanan. The union of these tears would cauterize our wounds and fortify our spirit, body and thought.... The union of the Condor and Eagle, according to the prophesy, should occur in this century. The fifth century will be born with a new spirit. This new spirit will unite once again the Indian nations of North, Central and South America... there will be no force that can hold us back.

"We make a call to all Indigenous Peoples of this Continent to respond to the urgent need to organize an indigenous response to the so-called 'discovery of America.' Spain, Italy, the Vatican, and numerous Latin-American governments are planning their own pompous events, which they officially title 'The Encounter of Two Worlds. The festive character which they are giving to this event is an offense to the dignity of Indigenous Peoples." —Information packet from the 500 Years of Indian Resistance conference.

From July 17 -21, 1990, nearly 400 indigenous people from North, Central, and South America gathered in Quito, Ecuador, for the 500 Years of Indian Resistance Conference, to plan a unified response to the upcoming worldwide celebrations being planned for October 12, 1992. The conference represented a coming together of all the indigenous people of the Americas—a long awaited meeting of the Eagle from the North with the Condor from the South.

The broad objectives of the conference were: 1. to promote unity and active participation of Indigenous peoples and organizations in the 500 Years Campaign and to coordinate counter-commemorations for the European campaign; 2. to promote a broad, unified front of participation by other sectors of society, including those groups committed to human rights, justice, equality and protection of the natural world, on a national and international level; 3. to re-establish inter-cultural relations between Indigenous peoples of the Americas.

Alongside these objectives, the conference would focus on two main issues—regaining a land base and establishing self-determination for the Indigenous Nations.

Arriving in a land of uprisings

When my party arrived in Quito, Luis Maldonado, the Vice-President of the Confederation of Indian Nations of Ecuador (CONAIE), and four co-workers met us at the airport. They greeted us warmly and drove us to a hotel.

Luis talked excitedly about the recent "Levantamiento," or "Uprising," ongoing since early June. It involved work shut-downs, land-takeovers, and huge protest rallies. Over a million Indian people have been taking part in the land-takeovers, whereby large land-holdings known as haciendas are being reclaimed by the Indian people in need of additional farmlands to meet their basic necessities. Neighboring countries, such as Bolivia, Peru and Columbia, also had begun their own land-takeovers. The slogan of the recent rebellion was "No more haciendas by '92!"

Land rights are an essential part of all Native peoples' struggles. In Ecuador, as throughout Latin America, less than seven percent of the population owns over 70 percent of the farmable lands. The meager lands available for the indigenous populations are inadequate to meet their basic needs, forcing those who make their subsistence from the land to farm whatever sparse space is available, even the steep slopes of the surrounding hills and mountains. Today, massive problems of deforestation and erosion have made subsistence farming a precarious enterprise.

Building a cross-continental movement

The conference became a forum for an Indigenous peoples' Declaration of Interdependence. Borrowing from the *Universal Declaration of the Rights of Peoples*, the conference organizers clearly state their case:

"All peoples have the right to exist, to receive respect for their national and cultural identity, to the peaceful possession of their territory, to self-determination, to the determination of their political status in complete freedom and without any outside intervention, and to free themselves from all colonial and foreign domination, be it direct or indirect, and from all racist regimes. All people have exclusive rights to their wealth and natural resources. They have the right to recover them if they have been despoiled and to collect indemnification for what has been unjustly paid. All people have the right to speak

their own language, and to preserve and develop their own culture, thus contributing to the enrichment of the culture of humankind. All people have the right not to have a foreign culture imposed upon them, the right to have an economic and social system of their own choosing, and the right to seek their own path for economic development in complete freedom and without outside intervention."

The upcoming 1992 events serve as a platform from which to launch a campaign to raise international public awareness and support. As a representative from Dominica, in the Caribbean, put it, "We must condemn the upcoming Columbus Day celebrations. Colonization has destroyed whole civilizations, their languages and religions, in the Americas. How can they celebrate the murders that took place, the trampling on the lives of the people that occurred?"

Though the final conference document is not yet translated and published, when it does finally appear in print, it will convey a strong and passionate voice of a united people.

Differences did exist between those present representing diverse backgrounds and cultures. For instance, the North American



continued on page 51

Healing All Our Relations

Margo Adair & Blair Sandler

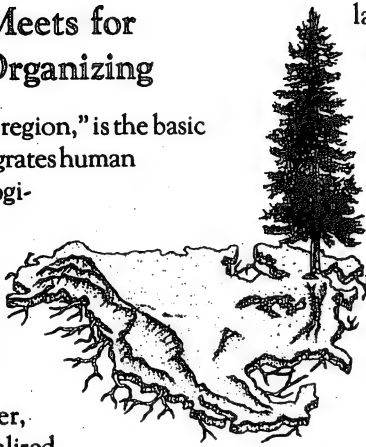
NABC IV Meets for Bioregional Organizing

A Bioregion, or "life region," is the basic geographic unit that integrates human governance within ecological principles. Bioregionalism recognizes the biological, geological, climactic and cultural uniqueness and diversity of each bioregion the world over, and their right of decentralized self-governance. It sees the revitalization of places, people and local cultures as the only sure way of healing the planet.

Self-identified bioregionalists have been organizing for the past decade. The Continental Congress convenes every two years. GL members Margo Adair and Blair Sandler participated in the fourth bi-annual congress.

This past August over 250 folks from all over the continent spent a week together on the shores of Lake Cobbosseecontee in the Gulf of Maine Bioregion. As we gathered for the opening circle of the Fourth North American Bioregional Congress, we looked up at a clear blue cloudless sky and discovered a bright rainbow circling the sun, welcoming us—a "sunbow." Auspicious!

The energy at NABC was fed during the week-long Congress by tasty, organic, local food, by drumming and dancing sessions



lasting long into the night, by morning talking circles, by rich cultural presentations from different bioregions around the continent, and by long hard thinking about healing all our relations and organizing—the themes of this Congress.

We began with a day spent exploring what bioregional organizing is all about, followed by a day to unravel, uproot and heal the "isms." Committees worked for two

days, and worked more as we moved into plenary sessions to agree on where we stand and where we are going.

The Congress consensed to change its name because our Mexican sisters and brothers said that "North American" had "gringo" connotations which meant domination to them. From now on NABC will be called Turtle Island Bioregional Congress (TIBC). It was also agreed to stop referring to Mexico as the "tail of the turtle"—we all live on the turtle.

While there was much merrymaking and sharing of hearts and souls, there was also a deep acknowledgement that we are in fact in a state of war—"We recognize that the Third World War—the war against the biosphere—is well under way, and that the forces of cultural and biotic extinction may prevail." The congress condemned the war build-up in the Middle East, and called for the dismantling of all U.S. military bases and every para-military and repressive apparatus throughout the world.

"...a war situation exists not only against Arab nations but against our own bioregions and the beings in them. The poor and people of color suffer more immediately than others, but we are all under attack.... Bioregionalists need to

mobilize all our resources in order to defend all the people and living beings in our bioregions. Finally, between now and 1992, we resolve that TIBC begin working toward a Declaration of Eco-Independence from centralized government; from profit, oil and drug addiction; from the patterns of domination that perpetuate this war economy. According to the legend of Quetzalcoatl, 1992 represents the end of 500 years ruled by greed and wanton disregard of life and the coming of 500 years of honoring the sanctity of all life. Our independence becomes a reality as we succeed in stopping the military-industrial war machine while simultaneously creating cultural and economic forms that support all life and welcome the contributions of all."

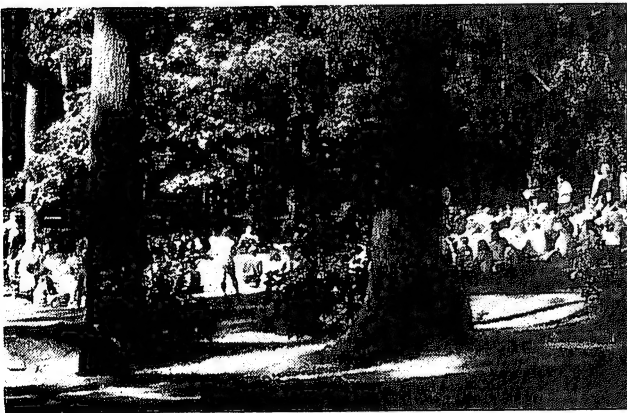
In this context TIBC committed itself to join in the activities of The Five Hundred Years of Resistance and Dignity [see page 15]. TIBC will publish an organizing packet that will facilitate organizing in each bioregion. [See next issue of GL]. There was also discussion of helping with a fleet of boats that will sail to Seville, Spain, coinciding with the Olympic Games in Barcelona. It is hoped that this event will lead to an international bioregional and Green gathering in Spain with representatives from Western and Eastern Europe.

Culture, politics, economics and nature were all woven together in the Congress to create what one person called, "a ceremonial village we construct every two years." At the end, in our closing circle, we looked up at a clear blue cloudless sky and discovered an Osprey circling round and round directly above us. Auspicious!

Pollen is a journal of bioregional educational. Send \$12 for 3 issues over the next two years to: Pollen, Sunrock Farm, 103 Gibson Lane, Wilder, KY 41076, Ohio River Valley Bioregion; Phone: (606) 781-5502; EcoNet: ftraina

For contacts in your area, write: Turtle Island Office, P.O. Box 955, Olympia, WA 98507, Ish River Bioregion, EcoNet: tio

NABC IV Proceedings are available for \$10 from: Alpha Farms, Deadwood, OR 97430 Cascadia Bioregion.



Bioregionalists gather in forest



Invasion of the Animal-Loving Babykillers



David Wheeler

"Jarrell Smoothe here, your sportscaster for the fourth biannual Turtle Island Bioregional Congress. There is a world-wide network of activists and visionaries who see themselves as a 'bioregional movement.' This week 250 activists gathered to plan policy for the movement.

"As we pan in, Devo Woowoo is beginning to speak for the Forests Committee. Let's look closer. Woowoo pauses, brushes the granola flakes out of his beard, and begins...."

Devo Woowoo: "Bioregion' is a word loaded with revolutionary potential. The word is revolutionary not simply in the sense of 'stimulating rapid social change,' but revolutionary in its potential for enabling the revelatory breakthroughs (or connections) in consciousness that bring far-reaching changes in the way human beings live. Ha! That gotcha', didn't it? Well, if you thought that was *bad*, now the Forests Committee is gonna *lay* it to you! It's *carrying capacity*!! - hup, hup!

Jarrell Smoothe: "Smoothe here again. Looking in my Bioregional/english dictionary, it says that, 'carrying capacity has long been a basic precept of ecology.' It states simply that a habitat has a limit on the number of individuals of any one species that it has resources to support. 'Corollary to the carrying capacity concept is the observation that for many species their numbers rise to well above carrying capacity before they 'crash,' when their population plunges suddenly to well below the natural limits, and they begin again to establish a new balance with their environment. It is also observed that once a population goes above carrying capacity, they begin damaging the habitat, and lower the habitat's car-

rying capacity for their species and others.' I wonder what that has to do with anything? Woowoo is still blathering - er, addressing the crowd. Let's listen...."

Devo Woowoo: "The revolutionary potential of carrying capacity comes not in the idea itself but in its application to ourselves,

the problems of procuring food and drinking water. However, the influence of a human population on a bioregion can be simply described as the number of people in the region multiplied by the impact of their technology."

Dad Ottamaway: "This raises an ethical responsibility: the extermination of other species should not be necessary to the maintenance of our own. Habitat destruction and species extinction are criteria for recognizing when we have exceeded a region's carrying capacity. Oh, yeah!"

Jarrell Smoothe: "What a show, what a show! I knew they were good, but I never thought they could *dance* to it!"

Klaus Schafe: "Seriously, folks, the linch-pin of the bioregional ethos is that the movement's thinking is biocentric - meaning that the Earth is seen as a living organism in her own right. As Chief Sealth (Seattle) said so eloquently in 1854: 'Whatever befalls the Earth, befalls the children of the Earth.' Believe it!"

Devo Woowoo: "This is not a radical theory or a political proposition. This is just a simple statement of ecological reality.

It is up to us to decide how to

respond to it. Among the general public, as would be expected in a culture dominated by the patriarchal model and the Cartesian world-view, there is outraged indignation at the notion that we, too, are animal creatures subject to the biological principles of creation. The guiding credo of industrial society, the idea of infinite growth, has collided with ecological reality. We need new world-views that help us find our proper niche among the other living creatures of the Earth."

Leah Jetta: "That's not all! *Besides* sav-



the human race."

Little Too Often Annie: "Of course, as with so many other naturally simple things, applying carrying capacity to the human species becomes immensely complicated. With humans, carrying capacity is not a simple question of basic factors like food, water, space, etc., but is confused by the effects of our sophisticated technologies and our varied political, economic, and spiritual practices."

Red Coolwun: "Carrying capacity for our species is now as much a question of whether we are going to smother our habitat areas with toxic and radioactive wastes, as

continued on page 51



The Automotive Column

Charles Varon

Editor's Note: As most Greens have by now heard, the brief hope that Burgess Capweather would return as automotive editor of this publication was dashed several weeks ago. Readers will recall that it was in mid-1988 that Mr. Capweather retired from Green Letter to bicycle the Indian subcontinent.

Upon learning of his return to the States this spring, a discreet inquiry was made as to whether, given the unexpected difficulties in replacing him, he might consider filling his own vacuum. But Mr. Capweather, after saying initially, "Sounds fine," and then "Actually, I'll have to check with my guru," and finally, "He says it's not my path just now," has once again left the country, this time to attend a month-long conference entitled, "The End of Gardening: Alternatives to Vegetational Custody," in Hilversum, Holland.

For this issue's column, we again turn to Charles Varon, a man who recently took Amtrak from San Francisco to Portland, Oregon and back, saving an estimated 32 gallons of gasoline and easing somewhat his petrol-troubled conscience.

Question: I am an environmentalist and a member of the American Automobile Association. Recently I was alarmed to hear rumors that the AAA had endorsed the sending of U.S. troops to the Persian Gulf. When I called Triple A to find out more (and possibly cancel my membership), I got endless busy signals. What's going on?

Response: In a phrase, a coup attempt. According to Cecilia Overnight-Shwartz,* it began in early September, when some 300 retired car salesmen and oil company executives gathered in Los Angeles. From there, their convoy of luxury automobiles and mobile homes snaked through the American heartland, stopping to meet with civic leaders, speak to elementary and junior high school classes, and address fraternal organizations.

The expedition was called "Save Our Way of Lifestyle," and members showed a 20-minute videotape of the same name to nearly all their audiences. In the video, scenes of bucolic country drives, picnics in national parks, and other pleasant car-based outings are interspersed with shots of gas lines, odd and even license plates, Saddam Hussein, and motorists running out of gas. In one scene, a man clearly at his wits' end pushes his fuel-empty Mitsubishi Monteiro over the Golden Gate Bridge; while doing so, he is evidently caught up in a gust of wind and goes over the railing as well. (This sequence, the making of which is now under investigation by the Stage and Film Actors' Safety Board, was edited out of the version shown to schoolchildren.)

Throughout the three-week "Drive on Washington," members of Save Our Way of Lifestyle (SOWOL) all kept low profiles,

and no clear leaders emerged. According to Overnight-Shwartz, the group had nightly meetings, often 4 or 5 hours in length, and made all its decisions by consensus. Meeting times grew longer as SOWOL picked up new members en route.

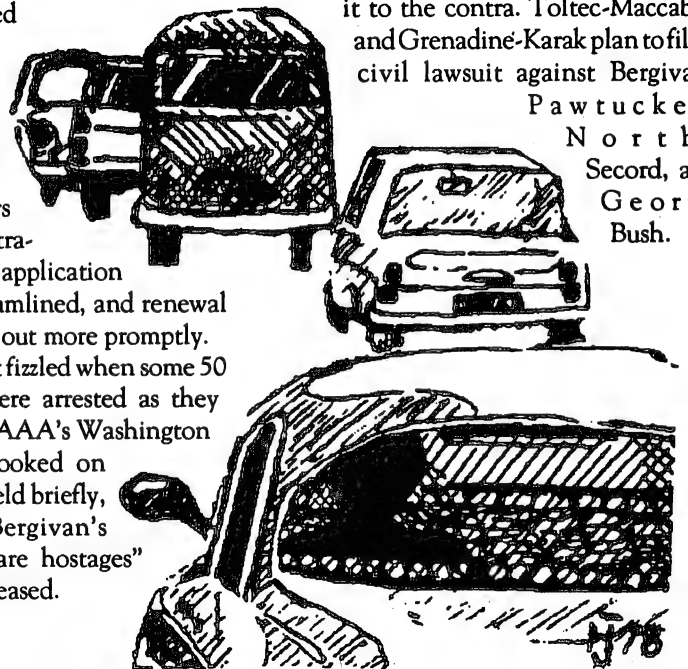
Nothing was known of the convoy's ultimate plans until October 5, when it reached the nation's capital. There, at a press conference on the Capitol steps, they declared themselves the new, legitimate leadership of the Triple A. Emerging as their chief spokesperson was Ethan Bergivan, past Vice-President of the Ford Motor Company for Paper Flow.** Bergivan announced that his first act following the coup would be to secure religious tax status for the AAA. "Internal combustion," he proclaimed, "is the one true religion of North America. Let us put the infidels and unbelievers on notice: We are prepared to wage a holy war for oil in the Middle East. We are prepared for autojihad!" Bergivan also promised Triple A members that under his administration the membership application process would be streamlined, and renewal notices would be sent out more promptly.

The coup attempt fizzled when some 50 SOWOL members were arrested as they tried to take over the AAA's Washington office. They were booked on trespassing charges, held briefly, and then—Ethan Bergivan's statement that "we are hostages" notwithstanding—released.

Footnotes

* Our informant on the AAA coup attempt wishes to remain anonymous. The pseudonym Cecilia Overnight-Shwartz was selected by the Green Letter and approved by the informant.

** There may be more to Ethan Bergivan and SOWOL than met the press. Danny Toltec-Maccabee and Lucinda Grenadine-Karak, attorneys for the Washington, D.C.-based Cryptic Institute, say they have evidence linking Ethan Bergivan to the CIA, the National Security Council, Oliver North, Richard Secord, and others. They allege that Bergivan, along with his associate Ernest "Adman" Pawtucket, fraudulently sold TV time to five German and Swiss automakers in 1985, and then hid the money in seven now-bankrupt savings and loan institutions before diverting it to the contra. Toltec-Maccabee and Grenadine-Karak plan to file a civil lawsuit against Bergivan, Pawtucket, North, Secord, and George Bush.



Traditional Culture, New Agriculture

Emma Torres

Eight thousand feet up on the treeless plain of the San Luis Valley basin, the headwaters of the Rio Grande begin their descent through the San Juan Mountains. Here in this historic southern Colorado county Chicanos are taking a stand against the reopening of a gold mine that endangers the natural environment and may undermine their struggle to preserve cultural traditions.

"We don't have a lot of time before we're totally displaced from our rural communities, our families scattered and our values and way of life totally changed," says Maria Valdez.

A sixth-generation native of the San Luis valley and a graduate student in Regional Planning at the University of Colorado, she and her husband, Arnie Valdez, founded People's Alternative Energy Services which, along with the Concerned Citizens for Environmental Soundness, is fighting the reopening of El Pomo gold mine.

"In the 1970s, another company operated the mine using the same cyanide technique (to separate the gold from the ore) that is again being proposed. There was a leak that polluted our waters and killed hundreds of trout," says Valdez. What they are up against is the county commission's traditional view of the mine as a source of jobs and tax revenue, in an area with 24% unemployment.

Historically, ethnic communities with chronic unemployment have been faced with the same dilemma: Earning a living meant accepting hazardous jobs and polluting industries.

For a time, when the oil crisis of the 1970s pushed the federal government to fund alternative-energy programs, there seemed to be an opportunity to combine environmental solutions with jobs. These programs created a fledgling environmental industry that provided jobs in ethnic communities. Suddenly, urban black youth were being trained to install solar heaters. Solar plants were constructed in Chicano communities in the Southwest. During the Reagan years, most of these programs were lost to budget cuts, and community leaders were left with no tangible way to tie environmental issues to the economic advancement of poor people.

Today, many Latinos feel they have found another way. They are reasserting their traditional relationship with the land and adapting the sustainable economic-development concepts of the environmental movement. In rural towns Latinos are developing a "land-based ecology" that has its roots in the "self-reliant village" concept of their ancestors. Using organic and greenhouse farming as well as wind- and solar-generated power, this approach promotes self-reliance and environmental stability by helping families earn a living from small farms. This economic-development strategy, say its proponents, is in harmony with their natural environment and with their Indo-Hispanic culture, both of which have a value that is not reflected in economic statistics.

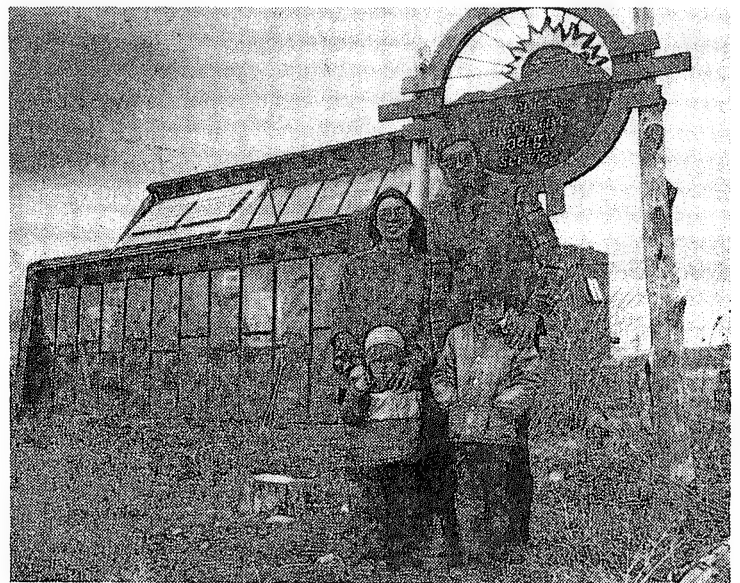
Recent media coverage has played up the fact that Latinos (and other ethnic groups) have only minor roles in the more visible organizations that champion the environment among white middle-class Americans. Less has been said about ethnic community organizers who have been active on environmental issues, but do not typically call themselves environmentalists. Across the West, for instance, Latinos have been doing battle for decades on land-use and water-rights issues. And clearly, in the fight against toxic pesticides, it was Chicano activists in California's San Joaquin Valley who led the way more than 20 years ago, when Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers first organized the table-grapes boycott and won a ban on DDT.

Today, Latinos appear to be building on this common history of activism. They are breaking the isolation of organizing in sparsely populated rural lands to fight the

suburbanization and pollution of their rural lands. From California to Texas they are coming together to assess their needs, share limited resources and present a united front on common issues.

The United Farm Workers organization has a seven-acre demonstration farm on which farmworker families learn how to make the small plots surrounding their homes more productive.

Rebecca Flores-Harrington, a UFW organizer, stresses that the key to success for their experiment lies in being able to make money for poor people to live on. "When

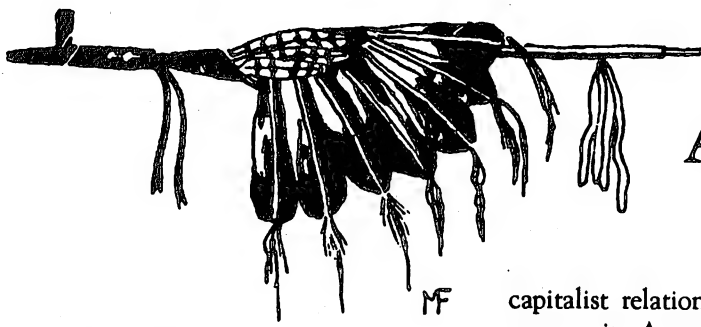


people see that you can do that, they will get serious about this organic farming."

The United Farm Workers organization has always managed to generate support for its struggle against toxic pesticides from outside its traditional farmworker base. But growing environmental awareness has made new alliances possible. The toxic pesticides issue, originally viewed by many as a problem affecting only farmworkers, has moved into the mainstream. Recently, the UFW was invited to join citizen groups from middle-class communities in Los Angeles and Orange County for a rally protesting the spraying of malathion in Southern California's fight against the medfly.

"These are the same people who used to

continued on page 52



Alaska Native Lands: An Environmental Question

Stephen Castor

To capitalism, land is a commodity to be bought and sold. Yet to Native Alaskans, as Louie Commack of Ambler, Alaska, lamented: "Our land is like our parent. It provides us food, clothing, and shelter. Without our land, we would be homeless, we would be like orphans."

All most environmentalists in the Lower 48 States hear about Alaska is the Exxon Valdez, Alaska National Wildlife Refuge, or Tongass National Forest. Yet the state is home to the lion's share of this country's dwindling wildlife, oil, gold, other natural resources, and unfathomably spacious land, water everywhere, and endless unpolluted skies. But even in the relatively unravaged spaces of the far frozen north, Native communities are—like here—racked by a crisis of alcohol, suicide, homicide, accidental death and injury, crime, jail time, children's health and education.

Because of pressure from the cash economy, more and more Alaska Natives—Indians, Eskimos, and Aleuts—are being driven from their land into towns. From time immemorial, their land has formed the bond between them and their way of life—spiritually as well as practically. And now they are under threat of losing the land itself.

Unlike Indian land agreements in the Lower 48, the federal Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act (ANCSA) of 1971 extinguished all Native claims to their traditional land and eternal hunting, fishing and other subsistence rights. Instead, ANCSA set up 13 regional and 219 village Native corporations with title to 11% of that land. Alaska Natives were paid less than \$3.00 per acre for the other 89% of the state they renounced forever. That settlement was rushed through to pave the way for construction of the Alaska pipeline. Assistant Professor Dennis Demeret, a Tlingit Indian from the College of Rural Alaska told me, "The billion dollars that Natives got in exchange for their land flows through the pipeline every few days."

That was in the heyday of Richard Nixon's "black capitalism" strategy, to spur minority ownership of businesses to reproduce

capitalist relations within each minority community. As a sad result, the Native people don't own the land, but are merely shareholders in for-profit corporations that do. A profit-motivated corporation cannot take from the rich and give to the poor without facing a shareholders' suit. Where the people were poor and unemployed, they still are.

"The problem with ANCSA is that the village corporation is obligated to make a profit," declared the Aleut business manager of Tanadgusix Corporation. "And profit making can destroy our culture." Tragically, by the mechanism of capitalism, these corporations are forced either to destroy the bounty of the land or else slide into debt. The irony of this dilemma for the environment was captured by a New York Times story June 1 that pitted a nearly bankrupt Native corporation against conservationists. The corporation was forced to log the home of the world's largest bears on Kodiak Island in order not to have to sell the land off for debt. *Shades of Latin America?*

The reason most Native corporations are not economically viable is that they are located where subsistence activities were optimal, but where there is not necessarily any infrastructure to support capitalist development. Forced to go corporate, village corporations operate the local stores and energy suppliers in cash-poor but nature-rich communities. Regional corporations have been steered into real estate development, mining, logging, commercial fishing, and other boom-bust activities that destroy their Native shareholders' birthright.

Already, two regional and two local corporations have filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy, and others are close. The real threat occurs when Native corporations have sold off or otherwise alienated land to avoid bankruptcy. Or even worse, when Native corporations file for Chapter 7 bankruptcy, all their assets, including the land, would be sold to pay debts. Prospective buyers couldn't afford the price if they were only going to keep the land in its pristine conditions for subsistence use.

Subsistence itself, the life blood of the Native economy in rural Alaska, got gutted

last December. Alaska's supreme court threw out a state law giving preferential—not even exclusive—hunting and fishing rights to rural residents (overwhelmingly Natives). The state legislature has resisted passing a new amendment, despite a special legislative session convened by the governor. Six out of every seven Alaskans is non-Native, and voting power resides in the cities—Anchorage and Fairbanks.

The Alaska statute the court threw out had kept the state in compliance with a federal law which amended some of the worst features of ANCSA in 1980. Since the federal law mandates subsistence preference for rural Alaskans, the feds used the threat of imposing federal hunting laws enforced by U.S. agents on federal lands in Alaska to coerce the state legislature to act. After the legislators still refused to cooperate, in July the feds assumed hunting and fishing control over the 71% of Alaska ANCSA had deeded to the U.S. government and Native corporations, plus all territorial waters.

The feds have stricter hunting and fishing laws than the state. So Natives have to face stricter limits, as well as the possibility of moratoriums. "Federal agencies are more susceptible to national political pressures exerted by animal rights groups" than is Juneau according to the Alaska Federation of Natives (AFN), the umbrella organization fighting for Native subsistence and land rights.

At the urging of AFN, this August the U.S. Congress passed legislation setting up a joint federal-state commission on policies and Programs Affecting Alaska Natives. Public pressure needs to be put to bear on this commission to resolve these issues. To learn what you can do, contact AFN at 411 W. 4th Avenue, Suite 301, Anchorage, AK 99501.

Stephen Castor writes on the environmental movement for Crossroads magazine.

Editor's Note: On the 8th of April, 1990, 25 representatives of traditional Alaska Native village governments got together as the Alaska Native Sovereignty Network, to

continued on following page

Military Overflights Blast Native Populations

Indian People across the North American continent are suffering from the adverse affects of military overflights. From the Innu people of eastern Canada to Piute and Shoshone tribes in the western U.S., from Tono Odohom Nation in the southwest U.S. to the Seminole tribes in the southeast, Native peoples live in airspace that military planners seem to claim as their own.

None of the Indian People have been consulted about overflights before they begin; none of our complaints are heeded after they start. After all, when you view the land below you as already belonging to the government—which is how the military treats Indian Land—consultation is unnecessary and complaints are unfounded.

Contrary to environmental studies done by the military, these overflights cause stress-induced diseases which affect both people and animals. These studies say that animals

are not affected, but after gathering pinenuts in Central Nevada, I find that hard to believe. There were a lot of pine-nuts but no animals.

Whether the flights are low- or high-level, sub- or supersonic, they are flying explosions that scare and startle living beings. These overflights violate the Laws of Nature which military planners cannot repeal. They demonstrate a complete disregard for the Indian people's God-given right to a peaceful, quiet way of life which we have been living since our creation on this Mother Earth.

There have been efforts to organize at the grassroots level, but the need to network at an international level amongst the Indian People has yet to become a reality. If you can help this to come about call or write to: Citizen Alert Native American Program, Paul Rodarte, Director, Box 5391, Reno, NV 89513. (707) 827-5511

by Paul Rodarte



Six Nations Logo

Mohawk Update

The struggle around Oka, Quebec that began in July of 1990 continues with the Mohawk Nation remaining firm in defense of their sovereignty. In early October the Mohawks withdrew from the barricades, did not surrender, but withdrew to take care of their people who have suffered military and civilian violence.

The Canadian government and military have shown no signs of upholding agreements or negotiations. Many of those on the front lines have been arrested and are being held under arguable charges. Village communities have been ransacked and searched.

Indian Nations and groups throughout Canada remain in firm support of the Mohawk's struggle for sovereignty. For how you can help call: Mohawk Nation Office, Six Nations Confederacy, Kahnawake Branch, Tel: (514) 638-4750, FAX: (514) 638-6790

Fast to Support Big Mountain Struggle

During 1992 much of the western world is planning to celebrate Columbus' landing in this hemisphere with a billion dollar extravaganza.

Slowly native people and support groups around the world are beginning to check the invader. While Mohawks stand strong against aggression in the east, the Dine and their supporters are doing all they can in the west to prevent the remaining 10,000 Navajos in the area from being forcibly displaced from their homes and removed from land sacred to them for generations.

Four people from Big Mountain support groups will do a water-only fast on the east steps of the capitol in Washington D.C., starting October 12 through November 22, 1990, from 10:00 to 5:00 pm, to bring an end

continued on page 48

Alaska Lands

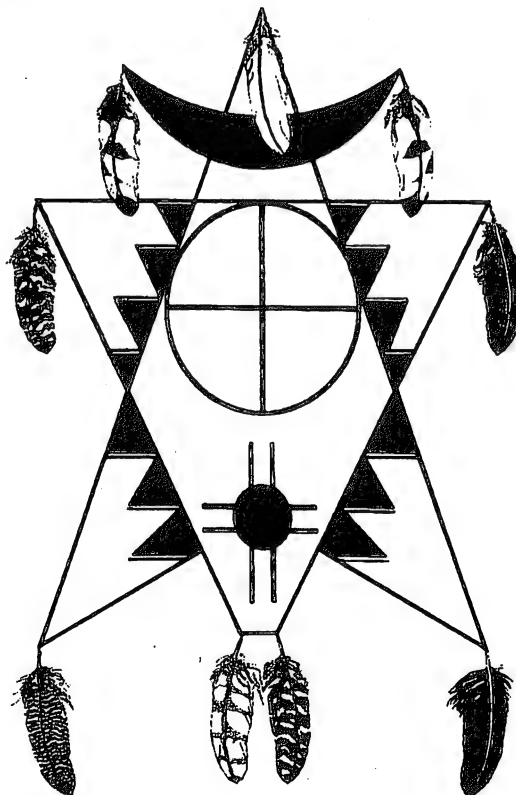
continued from preceding page

issue a "Subsistence Statement." This group was formed to distinguish itself from the native corporations and those who would bargain away land and resources without the consent of the people or traditional governments.

The statement also said, "We are not and do not wish to be represented by Alaska Federation of Natives, Incorporated or any other corporate entity or organization that does not reflect the views of the traditional sovereign indigenous governments of Alaska."

Alaska natives are asserting their sovereignty by issuing their own fishing and hunting permits, birth certificates, and drivers licenses in defiance of the State of Alaska's apparent jurisdiction over tribal governance and natural resources.

For more information on the challenge to the legality of the state of Alaska and the subsistence and sovereign rights of Alaska natives write:



Sovereignty Network: HC01 Box 6051-H
Palmer, AK 99645, (907) 745-0505

Gwich'in Steering Committee:
P.O. Box 202768, Anchorage, AK. 99520
(907) 258-6814



German Greens Prepare for Elections

On September 1, 51 years after Nazi Germany began World War 2, the Greens in West and East Germany and the East German civic movements launched their election campaign for the all-German federal elections. After a direct action in Kassel, one of the largest German army sites, two detonation holes in a bridge were rendered useless by laying bricks and welding their covers. The conference following the action approved the following resolution which is a summary of the joint electoral manifesto of the Greens and the civic movement groups:

The Alliance Stands

The Green/Alliance 90 is the alternative to the cartel of the old parties CDU/CSU, SPD, FDP. It unites the green movements in West and East Germany with the East German civic movements which initiated the peaceful revolution in the fall of 1989 and will bring their grassroots democracy experiences into the future united Germany. Even the clumsy manipulations with the electoral laws by the established parties will not prevent a strong Green/Alliance 90 alternative in the all-German Bundestag

against this big black-red-yellow coalition and its model of a German Europe. Our

issues—disarmament and demilitarization, social justice, ecological reconstruction, feminism and democracy, multicultural society. Nobody except the Green/Alliance 90 credibly stands for these objectives.

Ecology Now

The impending climate catastrophe is one of the most urgent problems of the years to come and requires immediate measures. Ecological policy rejects an economy of exploitation and plundering of natural resources. It is more than just environmental repairs. This only puts a filter on every chimney, water treatment plant behind every



alliance will frustrate the attempt to keep the East German civic movements out of the Bundestag via electoral law manipulations.

The people in West and East Germany increasingly are fed up with this very big coalition. Our campaign issues are the real

toxic chemical plant, a catalytic converter before every exhaust pipe, and some alibi plants on every green area disappearing under concrete.

Environmental repairs require environmental destruction. We call for a policy stopping the poisoning of soil, water, and air. Ecological policy starts at the roots of toxic production and calls for the immediate shutdown of lethal production sites like nuclear plants. Technocratic environment repair measures or even genetic engineering only slow down the destruction of nature.

Peace and Nonviolence Now

The complete disarmament and demilitarization of Germany is the necessary consequence of German history. It is the response to the fundamental changes in European political structures and the German unification process that is most compatible to Europe. After the end of the Cold War, NATO and the Warsaw Treaty have to be dissolved and replaced by an all-European security system. The enemy images lost in Europe must not be replaced by new "enemies" in the Middle East. Instead of first arming dictatorships like Iraq and then fighting them with intervention forces, we call for the comprehensive ban on any

East & West German Greens Move Toward Merger

The East German Greens held their Special Party Convention Sep. 7-9 in Magdeburg, capital of the newly formed E. German state of Sachsen-Anhalt. The party decided by a large majority (225-24-15) to merge with the West German Greens by the end of the year. If a similar decision is made by Die Grünen's convention Sep. 22-23, the 5 state organizations of the East German Green Party will join the federation of the 11 state organizations that form Die Grünen by Dec. 3. In the special situation of Berlin, both Green Parties will merge in September or October to run together for the elections of the new state parliament of united Berlin that will be held simultaneously with the federal elections December 3.

As a first step towards unification, the Grüne Partei in der DDR changed its name to Die Grünen. For the federal elections December 2, however, it will run in the 5 East German states plus Berlin as Die Grünen/Bundnis 90 (Die Grünen/Alliance 90) to symbolize the alliance with the civic movement. The East German Convention also elected 2 representatives, Christine Weiske from Zepernick (State of Brandenburg) and Friedrich Heilmann from Templin (State of Brandenburg) for the Federal Executive Committee of Die Grünen.



arms exports and reject any participation of the German army in intervention forces.

Solidarity Now

We reject mass poverty in West German society as the price for wealth and profitable companies. We also cannot accept that East Germany becomes the exploitable colony of West Germany and that people in East Germany have to work for considerably less money and have worse jobs and labor rights. Measures against poverty in West Germany and the impending social crisis in East Germany must become the most important tasks of the all-German government and parliament. We call for a future financial and economic policy reducing the regional economic gap in industry and agriculture in the united Germany.

The growing economic and social gap between the Northern industrialized nations and the "Third World" is one of the most urgent problems of humanity. Comprehensive cancellation of Third World debts is one of the first steps towards a more just world economic order.

Democracy and Emancipation Now

The structure of representative democracy and the emancipation of citizens have developed into an open contradiction. The history of environmentalist, peace, and women's movements in West Germany and the experience of the revolutionary groups in East Germany demonstrate that the established popular parties are unable to represent effectively and democratically the concrete interests of the citizens due to their immobile structures and power struggles. We demand that in the future German state all its citizens are guaranteed the general human rights such as the right to a job, housing, education and medical care. Emancipatory democracy requires accepting different nationalities in one country and equal rights for them. Democratic

culture includes cultural and ethnic pluralism and perceives this pluralism as a chance to learn from each other and not as a threat of one's own identity.

Self-Determination for Women Now

We demand that women and men can determine all sectors of society and politics equally, and we practise that among ourselves. We work for a fundamental change in society. Measures such as gender quotas, reduction of working time and free time for educating parents are instruments to guarantee equal access for women

and men to employment and equal responsibility of women and men for home and family work. We stand for the right of women to self-determination which we want to see anchored in a new all-German constitution. We reject criminal code sanctions for abortions and call for abolition of article 218 (banning abortions except under certain conditions) in the Criminal Code. The unification of the two German states must not lead to a law falling behind the current East

German legal situation (free abortion in the first three months without compulsory consultation). We call for an all-German women's vote about abortion.

December 1990 will decide whether united Germany will be a truly democratic state participating in the construction of an ecological, nonviolent, and peaceful Europe without military blocs, or whether the CDU/CSU with its leader Kohl can continue their nationalist, growth-obsessed and antisocial policies. Therefore our aim is: Vote Kohl out! The chances to realize this aim will increase the stronger the alliance of the Greens and the civic movement is. We are the only consistent opposition to this government. Whoever wants a change in government has to vote for our alliance.

Jurgen Maier, Federal Executive Committee, Die Grünen

UN Forms Council for Local Environmental Concerns

On September 8, the United Nations established the "International Council for Local Environment Initiatives."

The Council depends on interdepartmental cooperation within the UN. This "Local Initiatives" agency will provide the following functions: To serve as a clearinghouse for innovative policies, strategies and techniques for local environmental protection; to facilitate international partnerships among municipalities with an interest in specific environmental problems to generate creative solutions and share innovations; to provide technical assistance; to provide financial assistance for specific pilot projects and to develop support for larger programs and to represent local government interests and concerns in the process of the 1992 UN Conference on Environment and Development.

The agency seeks to involve the public in the decision-making process. If you know of any municipal efforts to address environmental problems effectively, please send information to them to be included in a database for others' reference.

Mail to: Projects of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy, 45 Rice Street, Cambridge, MA 02140, Tel. (617) 491-6124





GATT: International Trade and Democracy

Negotiations currently underway among the world's major economic powers may take away peoples' rights to protect their health and environment from a variety of hazards. These negotiations are taking place within a little known, but extremely powerful body within the United Nations called the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, or GATT.

GATT is an independent U.N. body that governs international trade. Its key objective is global deregulation and standardization of trade, referred to as "harmonization." It is virtually controlled by the wealthy industrialized countries of the U.S., Western Europe and Japan, and the multinational corporations based in those nations. GATT agreements now cover an astonishing array of economic activity and concepts, including agriculture natural resource-based products, textiles and clothing, tropical products, trade investments, trade in services and patents and other "intellectual property rights" issues.

The current round of GATT negotiations in Geneva will produce a new set of rules applicable to about 90 % of world trade. These pending agreements will have a profound impact not only on current trade policies, but also on citizens' ability to participate in future environmental and social policy decisions. For example, if the proposals championed by the U.S. are adopted, GATT member nations would be pre-empted from adopting or enforcing environmental standards stricter than those agreed on by GATT, in many cases reversing still-inadequate existing standards.

In the case of the U.S., GATT negotiations are conducted exclusively by the U.S. Trade Representative, Carla Hills, a non-elected official appointed by the president. There has been almost no media coverage or public debate about the extensive environmental and social implications of the U.S. proposal to GATT.

For consumers, family farmers, environmentalists, social activists and many others, GATT raises what may be the ultimate question of this era: will corporations and the governments that represent them

organize international trade at the expense of democracy and environmental justice, or will citizens organize to demand that trade furthers rather than destroys socially just, environmentally sustainable development?

Time is short. The U.S. Congress can vote only to accept or refuse the entire GATT package when it is submitted for approval early next year. Only a few people in Congress are familiar enough with GATT to understand how President Bush's proposal will increase pesticide use and environmental deregulation. It is crucial that as many people as possible hear about GATT and tell their representatives we will not allow our hard

won environmental and social protections to be preempted.

Excerpted from: PANNA Outlook, August, 1990, produced by the Pesticide Action Network, North America Regional Center, 965 Mission Street #514, San Francisco CA 94103 (415) 541-9140

Contact: Mark Ritchie, Fair Trade Campaign/Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy, 212 3rd Ave. North #301, 55401 Minneapolis, MN. Tel (612) 339-0586; or, Craig Merrilees, Fair Trade Campaign/National Toxics Campaign Fund, 425 Mississippi St, San Francisco CA 94107 (415) 826-6314.



Swedish Greens

The Riksdag (Parliament) has settled back into routine operation after the summer recess, and with the next general election only a year away, the Swedish Green Party (Miljopartiet de Gröna) is experiencing a surge of activity.

Miljopartiet, with 20 members out of a total of 349 in the one-chamber Riksdag, won 5.5% of the vote in the 1988 general election, putting it into national government for the first time. Swedish electoral law requires parties to cross a 4% threshold in order to gain admission to the Riksdag. The next election will be critical. If the Greens lose seats or cannot make the 4% hurdle, it will be both a psychological and financial blow to the young party, conveying the message to many citizens that Miljopartiet was a short-lived party of protest. If the Greens can retain or increase their seats, it will show the nation that Green Politics is unique and meaningful, and will be of immense support

to party morale and spirit.

Thus have Green parliamentarians and party staff spent much of their summer vacation at various seminars and courses, dealing with both the theoretical and practical. This reporter attended two widely different ones: a week-long course focusing on the philosophical basis of industrial society and upon spiritual issues, at which Theodore and Betty Roszak were guest lecturers, and a three-day conference on Green Economics, attended by many West and East Europeans. Others dealt with organization, finances, budget procedures and campaign work.

The 20 new parliamentarians have been accused by people both within and outside the party of having gotten bogged down in bureaucracy and official functions since the 1988 election, and of having lost their radicalism, vigor, and clarity of position. With 16 Riksdag committees to cover, it is understandable that the Greens are spread thin.



New Zealand Greens Seek Proportional Representation

Green issues have assumed center stage in New Zealand political life. A Green Party of Aotearoa, New Zealand has recently been formed and will be contesting seats in the next election (October 1990). Despite the lack of elected leaders, a detailed policy and a major national organization, it has already attracted 8% support in the polls. The lack of proportional representation however, means that there is no prospect of electoral success.

The main political parties are actively courting the green vote. The governing Labor Party is relying on its green record to try and win back support from a disillusioned electorate. The Prime Minister and Minister for the Environment is a strong advocate for environmental issues. These range from global matters (ocean protection, protection of Antarctica, the need for a new international order to control environmental degradation), to innovative legislation to make all resource use in N.Z. subject to sustainability



criteria (meeting the needs of present generations without compromising the needs of future generations).

The other main political parties also have strong environmental policies. A breakaway New Labor Party (with 1 MP) has adopted a Red-Green charter into its constitution that makes all programmes subject to environmental and sustainability guidelines. Environmental groups have focused their attention on strengthening the resource management legislation, insisting on a strong ecological sustainability theme that recognizes the life supporting capacity of the environment, its intrinsic values and an ethic of

stewardship.

Other major campaigns have been directed at protecting Antarctica, New Zealand's indigenous forests (most forests are now either in the public conservation estate, or are subject to sustainable yield management requirements) and the rainforests in the South Pacific. Strong support has also

been forthcoming for the indigenous Maori people's spiritual and cultural values and their traditional ties to the environment.

While the Green's may attract considerable voter support, the introduction of proportional representation is a prerequisite for political influence. A citizen's referendum will be carried out at a quarter of the electorates in the coming election to test support for its introduction. An independent commission has already recommended its introduction and the Labor government has broken a promise to hold a national referendum on the issue.

Peter Horsley

Address Parliamentary Problems

But, workload aside, strong criticism has come from, among others, Birger Schlaug of the staff Political Committee. In a number of direct contacts with the media, which irritated many, he maintains that the Greens have no unifying ideology, that it has allowed a streak of ecofascism to grow, and

that many Riksdag members and staff are "anti-politicians," that is, that they stick to their own pet issues (organic farming, mass transit, etc.) and refuse to take on power politics.

Strengthening internal unity, developing clearer ideological and policy positions,

and communicating this effectively to the electorate will be paramount in the 1991 election. Probable key election issues: Swedish European Community membership (Greens are split, but public perception is that they are opposed), a potentially unpopular position; Discontinuation of nuclear energy (a stated government objective since the early '80s, but cast in increasing doubt, especially due to the Iraq crisis); Tax reform and deregulation/privatization (the Green position is more complex than either the social Democrats or right-wing parties, and thus potentially fuzzier); Construction of a bridge to Denmark (seen by many as necessary for future economic growth in southern Sweden, but likely to cause ecological disturbances in the Sound separating Sweden and Denmark, and to contribute to increased auto traffic).

Ralph Meima

GCoC Rep Offers Report on European Networking Trip

This summer, Mike Feinstein took a six-week fact-finding tour that included representing the GCoC at the June European Greens coordination meeting, the July meeting of European Green Parliamentarians (from Ireland to Siberia) at the European parliament in Strasbourg, France and the Swedish Green National Congress. He also visited Green Parties in 12 countries East and West.

Feinstein has put together a 300-page summary of interviews, impressions, platforms, and personalities, *Six Weeks with European Greens*. For copies, send \$5 plus \$1.50 postage & handling to R&E Miles, P.O. Box 1916, San Pedro, CA 90733. Fifty cents will be donated to a travel fund of the International Work Group, to help sponsor future GCoC delegates. GL hopes to print a more complete report of the visit in future issues.



Ontario Greens Campaign in Provincial Election

As I write this in late August, my home province of Ontario is in the midst of a provincial election. The Green Party has mustered candidates in 39 of the 130 ridings in the province (3 years ago we stood just 7 candidates).

We are running the classic Green campaign: renewable energy and conservation strategies rather than nuclear and fossil fuels; selective logging versus clear cutting; organic, not petro-chemical agriculture; clean fuel mass transit over private automobiles; cooperative housing and cooperative enterprises versus the vicious cycle of landlord-tenant and owner-worker conflict; the ecosystem approach rather than human-centered development; respect for the diversity and quality of life on this threatened planet.

I am one of the candidates, and, like most, am running a shoestring campaign. We are confident, however, that we are adding the much needed ecological dimension to an election almost devoid of serious issues. Before Greens started running, there was no mention of environmental issues. Now lip service is paid regularly. For the most part we receive equal billing at all-candidates' meetings where we present our world view to generally sympathetic voters. With the exception of one or two ridings where we have a good chance of winning, most Green candidates expect 2 to 5% of the vote.

The Ontario Greens, like the Canadian Greens, formed political parties in 1983 amid much criticism that we were preceding the movement. While correct, these criticisms luckily went unheeded with the result that 7 years later, when the Green movement finally did hit Ontario, the Green Party was prepared to absorb the growth with enough networking in place so that hostile or "astro-turf green" individuals were not able to take control. In fact, we are developing nicely as a truly grassroots, leaderless organization that functions without a budget, centralized lists, hierarchies or caucuses. The best part is that we are becoming effective!

There are still two weeks of campaigning to go. Today the Greens in my city are sponsoring an event against our "public"

hydro utility which plans to build 10 more nuclear reactors at a cost of \$65 billion. Last week we protested McDonald's for continuing to destroy the ozone layer by using HCFC-22 as their polystyrene blowing agent. Running in an election is a tremendously cathartic experience for Greens who often are bursting with ideas. Elections offer a platform to explain our biocentric world view, to wax

poetic about the beauty and fragility of the Earth. Here we can lay out our short and long-term goals to keep planet #3 fit for all life. And Green candidates give voters who are disenchanted with unecological growth and consumerism a credible, progressive alternative.

Frank de Jong



Amazon Action Guide

The Rainforest Action Network has recently published *Amazonia: Voices from the Rainforest*, a 92-page resource and ac-



tion guide to organizations working to stop Amazonian deforestation. The *Guide's* unique collection of more than 250 organizational profiles looks at the Amazon from the perspective of indigenous peoples, rubber tappers, and others who are at the forefront of the battle. The *Guide* also includes maps, statistics, photos, and descriptions of destructive development projects.

Voices from the Rainforest is a valuable organizing tool for those who want to get involved in Amazonian campaign work. It is available for \$10 postpaid (\$13 overseas mail; bulk discounts available) from RAN, 301 Broadway, Suite A, San Francisco CA 94133, (415)398-4404. RAN's Econet listing is "Rainforest."



Canadian Green Party Holds National Gathering in Montreal

The Third Gathering and Convention of Canadian Greens (the Green Party of Canada/Le Parti Vert du Canada) was held August 14 - 19 at College Brebeuf in Montreal, Quebec. In keeping with green tradition, the Gathering and Convention was open to all - visitors, observers and guests were welcome to participate in all discussions - with voting restricted to members of the Green Party of Canada. Over 35 proposals ranging from Party policy statements to changes in internal Party structure were submitted to the Party's "Hub" prior to the Convention /Gathering and mailed to all Party members. Additional proposals came from the floor during the Convention.

There were two international guests at the Convention. Dr. Wilhelm Knabe, a member of Fraktion Die Grünen im Bundestag in West Germany represented Die Grünen. I represented the GCoC International Working Group (IWG) and the California Green Party Organizing Committee.

Dr. Knabe spoke about recent Green developments in Europe and globally. I addressed the development and current status of the Green Party in California, the state of the GCoC and the SPAKA process, the National Gathering and finally, the purpose and status of the IWG.

Attendance at the Convention/Gathering was disappointingly low. Elections had just been called in several provinces. This prevented a number of people from attending. The Convention/Gathering was boycotted in large part by members of Le Parti Vert du Québec, many of whom are separatists and don't consider a "federal" Party to be relevant. A lot of Greens throughout Canada feel that it is more relevant to focus on provincial and local party work and don't see the time as being ripe to develop a national party.

Unfortunately, a quorum was not present by the time things wound down so that the ratification of the proposals that came from the working groups and were consensed to by the plenaries will have to be done by mail. Copies of the proposals from the Convention



as well as the names of individuals who were nominated by the Convention to become new Party Functionaries will be sent to all Party members for study, comment and additional proposals and nominations. A second mailing will then be made containing a ballot allowing the membership to make the final decisions.

All in all, it was a very rewarding experience for me and I am left with fond memories of the Canadian Greens and a long list of new Green friends and contacts in Canada. I feel that there is a lot that we can learn from our Canadian sisters and brothers from their involvement in electoral politics and much that we can share with them from the many lessons we have learned in our struggles.

I was disturbed and disappointed that I was the only American attending this event (Green Letter correspondent Bill Weinberg from NYC did stop by for one afternoon on his way to the NABC convention). I am very concerned that it has become somewhat of a status symbol among GCoC Greens to have made the pilgrimage to Germany to visit Die Grünen. We must break our Eurocentric focus and work instead on creating a truly global movement.

It is my hope that fewer American

Greens will run off to Europe to visit other Greens and will elect to visit our Green sisters and brothers in Canada and Latin America instead.

Please, Contact the IWG and obtain the names and addresses of Green contacts in Canada or Latin America to write to or visit. Think globally as always but let's all try to act more locally in our networking and movement building. Sure, its a lot more glamorous to do Europe and visit Die Grünen but it would be much more productive and beneficial in the long term for many of us to visit our closer neighbors instead. Think about it.

Bob von Holdt

GCoC International Working Group





Green Growing Pains

Some children yearn so much to be born that the parents have nothing to say about it. And that's what we are birthing now. ... or maybe it's still foreplay and we really haven't even conceived it yet, but I know that I am getting excited!! —Walt Bresette
Keynote Speech

In '84 we founded the Green Committees of Correspondence in Minneapolis; in '87 we held the first national gathering in Amherst, where we explored ideas and issues through a Green lens. Immediately following this gathering the SPAKA (Strategy, and Policy Approaches in Key Areas) process was born. A project of true democratic self-governance. Every Green in all the chapters spread across the country would be involved in creating it—not just voting “yes” or “no.” In '89 we had our second national gathering in Eugene to pull together our Program from over 200 papers that had been written during the preceding year and a half. Following Eugene the text went back to the locals and was discussed. Suggestions for revisions were submitted to the 26 Working Group Coordinators throughout the year—all getting ready for the Estes Park Gathering north of Boulder where we expected to ratify our Program.

If any locals had objections to any sections in the revised document (published in the last issue of GL) then they had to have them submitted in writing by August 20th so that the Gathering could be tailored to resolve differences and we would then emerge with a single document around which we all could rally. Christa Slaton, the coordinator of the ratification process, John Rensenbrink an original architect of the whole program process and myself on the advisory committee, all met for two full days the week preceeding the Gathering. Scissors in hand, we sorted objection statements and funnelled them into the right Key Area Working Group pile. Surrounded by mounds of papers we then took up the task of devising a democratic process that would enable us to come out of

Estes Park with a ratified document—no easy task—some would say impossible! At the Gathering, we had only two days, over two hundred delegates, 23 working groups, and some 250 written statements of objections. If that wasn't enough to contend with, there were numbers of folks who wanted to raise new issues and debate them from the floor. One of the problems from Eugene was the fact that some of the working groups didn't refer to the papers that had been written on their subject at all. Needless to say, that caused bad feelings on the part of the folks who had done much work and were unable to attend the gathering themselves. Learning from the past we were determined not to repeat history.

On Wednesday afternoon, before the conference began, there was an orientation

statements when they met so that they could raise the issues to the group for resolution, only after all these were dealt with was it okay to take up new issues and only then when there was one third support. Facilitators were to ask folks to distinguish between objections of substance and wording—the latter would be resolved by a style committee which would get established on Sunday. When there was a difference of substance any perspective that had 1/3 support of the working group could be brought to the plenary floor for everyone to decide which perspective they would endorse.

Wednesday evening launched the gathering with great spirit! Shared music, silence and story telling; Danny Moses reminding us that we are not alone—that we must accept the power of the circle—for circles are every-



meeting with a crew of over 20 volunteer professional facilitators who Matthew Gilbert, the site coordinator, along with Caroline Estes who was brought in to facilitate the plenary sessions, had inspired to help out. The first day of the conference was taken up with the Working Groups dealing with all the objections and coming up with final policy for their Key Area. So all the facilitators were given a Working Group, the stack of objections with instructions that each delegate was to be given one (or more) of the

where and so is trouble everywhere. The conference coordinators spoke of how it was to get us all in the same place at the same time and what was in store. Mindy Lorenz, the third coordinator whose task was to organize Saturdays activities to empower us all to be better social change alchemists, described the noncompeting workshops on local organizing, political action and alliance building—much to look forward to.

Thursday morning we all met in plenary session. After an opening meditation Christa

explained the process for the Working Groups to the delegates and everyone went off to work in the group of choice—and work they did! Late into that night when we were trying to put together the following days plenary agenda, John Rensenbrink said, “I feel like it’s the night of the election returns and as the results are coming in it is clear we’re winning!” To which Christa, not feeling so optimistic, took the analogy further: “California is not in yet.” But the computers were buzzing away next door as each group typed up the text their group had come up with. These were to be published in the next morning *Green Tidings*, our Daily Paper which Peter Moulton and Mitra published to keep us informed.

On Friday we all went to our first decision making plenary session. The air—thin as it was, nestled 7000 feet up in the spectacular Rockies—was filled with a potent combination of passion, excitement, frustration and anxiety. The thought hung in the air, “would we really be able to come out of this with anything that was worthwhile?” The irony of the task of coming up with one unified position, is that the areas we had to spend our time discussing were the areas where we didn’t agree—the ones which we agree on simply passed with little ado. Finding compromise in the very areas we each feel most passionately about is no easy task especially when we have nowhere near the time that the issue really deserves. The atmosphere created by the focus on disagreement did not help in building trust among us. All the delegates had to focus on whether their bottom line had been crossed. The situation was rocky, fortunately for us all, the Rockies towered above us as a reminder of why we were really there—the fate of the earth is teetering on a precipice. There was a palpable seriousness and patience on the part of the delegates to get the work done.

And we did do it—despite what was really an unbearable situation—long hours on hard chairs, listening, deciding on each and every issue of each group’s work—over two hundred people, one microphone, and never enough time. It all did take its toll. Many felt trampled on, others simply felt invisible or worse—manipulated. No time to explain everything fully so no time for full participation—a set-up for all. Leaders harangued the rest for their complaining when they had not participated earlier, “a bit late to raise that concern!” Many felt left out and uninformed by those in the “know.” Overall people put their egos aside and made the best

of an untenable situation—it was gruelling for everyone. But we did engage in vital debate and compromise and we did come out with a document that all of us stand for—for that we should take pride!

Woven throughout the conference were all sorts of interchanges that were of vital importance to both the functioning of the Gathering and to the future of the Greens. Quakers, Bioregionalists, Students, the International Working Group, Rainbow Greens were all meeting at various times. Interviews for a video production and press conferences were taking place on the sidelines. People were taking care of the children, coordinating trips into the mountains registering newcomers, Credentials committee were tallying votes, folks were developing a position on the Middle East. And thank the heavens for the Monkeywrenching Stress Working Group who offered massage to anyone in need!

Walt Bresette’s keynote speech and all the Saturday workshops were both inspiring and dynamic. But they all seemed to fall into the background in the midst of so many weighty decisions that were being faced. The keynote was scheduled for Friday evening—it was thought that the SPAKA process would be over—any leftovers could get dealt with on Sunday and the whole weekend portion of the gathering could emphasize organizing skills. But things change, and Sunday could no longer be used for any unfinished business because it was decided that it was vital to debate and set in place a process that would establish a structure that would serve us. Everyone agreed that the one we have was creating more problems than it solved. So the keynote ended up sandwiched into the middle of a plenary session on Friday night. Saturday morning there were still more policy statements that had not been decided on—so all the workshops got moved later. By the time they happened, people attended, they were good but the sad reality was that everyone at that point was pretty blitzed.

The question remains: was it all worth it? Will this work empower us to be better organizers? Will we learn from our mistakes? Will our program give clarity to our work? Will it inspire others to join us?—only history will tell us. One thing for sure is we Greens are maturing. We have developed a common language and we are now functioning with elected bodies: the restructuring committee, style/program committee, committee for planning the next gathering.



Most everyone would agree that we all have to go about our work qualitatively differently in the future. Why do we burn our leaders out? Why do people feel manipulated? What is it going to take to turn the process around? How can we all truly support one another? These questions were constantly with us and many wrote about it both in *Green Tidings* and for *Green Letter*. The following section reflects these efforts. We need to establish ways to trust one another, build community and out of the strength of our growing bonds our work will work.

P.S. Please read the program—it speaks for itself.

Margo Adair, *Green Letter*

We Are All Part of Each Other

The events at the recent conference in Estes Park give us a chance to look at how we are affected by alienation. The evident distrust of each other and of our delegated leaders is a sure sign that we are not yet ready to offer the world a viable political alternative. For politics is the science that deals with how best to maintain a harmonious order in society. If we have not dealt with the root cause of disorder within ourselves, we will not be able to externalize order in society...

Alienation can be overcome only through a deep realization of our unity with all life, not through “trying to be good.” Trying to be good leads to one-upmanship. It is essentially posturing. As such, it exacerbates the very alienation it is meant to overcome....

What is needed instead is the courage to conduct a thorough self-inquiry that uncovers the layer upon layer of posturing, one-upmanship, hypocrisy, and self-deception that supports the illusion of ourselves as separate from the rest of life... Each of us exists only by virtue of everything else. We are part of each other. If and when we truly realize this, our alienation will melt like ice.

excerpted from an article by Steven White



Power and Process

The following are my ideas about what is going on in the Green Movement. However accurate, my vision is incomplete; I urge you to find what's true for you—and to name it and act on it.

The conference at Estes Park bordered

ous and patient about explaining things to those with less information, I sensed a deep frustration among "A"s with anyone who challenged their decisions. These challengers ("group B") were seen by "A"s as uninformed/uninvolved latecomers or unreasonable obstructionists, a small, unrepresentative

our sympathies on seems to depend on which experience we most closely identify with.

The problem is not authoritarian "A"s, or obstructionist "B"s; it is attitudes which keep all of us locked into one side or the other of this oppressive pattern. We define the other group as the problem, and seek to control, change or oust them. Naturally, they react in a defensive way, and the cycle continues, fueled by blame, fear, held resentments, and our obliviousness to the underlying cause of this power struggle.

The resolution lies not in between the two polarized positions, but at a third point entirely outside the spectrum from "A" to "B". By stepping outside of dualistic thinking, we can see that these are just two sides of



on the miraculous; the amount we accomplished and the care with which we did it was inspiring! In The Left, I've been to countless meetings where a handful of people could not even listen to each other or agree on an agenda. By contrast, Green delegates generally put aside their egos and focused on the needs of the movement as a whole.

Having said that, I want to describe a problem that is about power, leadership, responsibility, and our own internalized patriarchal conditioning. It appeared at the conference, and recurs throughout the Greens.

Most of the work of sustaining the SPAKA process, planning and staging the conference was done by a handful of people. These folks (who I'll call "group A") work long hours for months on end. They often pick up the slack when others miss deadlines or break commitments. They face isolation, personal sacrifices, burnout, and a lack of support from the rest of the movement. At the conference these folks were usually running around dealing with last-minute details and problems, and sometimes had to make unilateral decisions. Though usually gener-

faction sabotaging the hard work of the organizers with power-plays and personal attacks. "A"s feared that this faction would hold the entire conference hostage, bringing things to a standstill with arguments about process.

Many "Group B" folks were locally focused activists with little experience of SPAKA. Others who were more familiar with it felt their concerns were being ignored. All felt left out of an invisible, undemocratic, "backroom" decision-making process. They noted that "A"s had free access to the microphone and plenary floor—without plenary approval—to make personal statements, while "B"s could only speak when called on. "B"s perceived "A"s as a small elite controlling the agenda, ignoring consensus process and attacking any who disagreed with them. "B"s feared that "A"s would railroad the conference, compromising Green principles for the sake of expediency.

Both groups seem aware of the controlling parent/rebelling child aspect of this pattern; "B"s felt "chastised and talked down to" with authoritarian lectures, while "A"s felt "harassed and unappreciated" by childish, irresponsible behavior. Which side we find

the same patriarchal coin.

Solutions:

Structure and Communication

I spent my first 6 months as a rep figuring out how my regional works (or doesn't). Everything I know I found out through word of mouth; I've never seen an adequate written guide or introduction to our national structure or process. Throughout the conference I never knew what was on the next day's agenda, how it got there, or who decided it. This does not work! Information is power. Informal or inadequate access to information is disempowering; it prevents full democratic participation and discourages initiative and trust.

1. *Orientation:* at meetings and conferences, participants need advance info on both what will be decided (content/agenda), and how (process). An orientation at the beginning would help people understand who did the work to set this up, and why they made the decisions they did.

2. *Communication:* we need much clearer, faster, and more effective means of communicating what is going on (news, decisions, reports).

3. *Visible Structure*: we need a much more visible structure, so that everyone knows how decisions are made, who's responsible for what, and how they can become involved or give input. We need handbooks, written guides, committee contact lists, and organizational charts.

4. *Continuity*: we need written records of all decisions at every level, easily available to everyone who might need to know. Our lack of continuity results in ignoring previous decisions, or worse, redeciding the same questions over and over.

5. *Personal Responsibility*: the flip side of this is that all of us need to take more responsibility for finding out who's doing what and how we can be involved. When a decision has been made we need to honor it. Nearly every local failed to meet the SPAKA deadlines, even when extended. It is extremely divisive to let others do the work of making a decision, and then challenge it after the fact.

All of this requires time and energy to create; we are already over-extended and understaffed. It is a difficult choice between moving ahead with pressing tasks or taking time to bring newcomers up to speed. But if we do not become more accessible, we will continue to lose new folks and remain understaffed.

Delegated Power

I was elected by the full conference

Plenary to the Platform Committee with a clear job description and term of office. This is quite rare in the Greens. Our primary method of delegating responsibility is what I call "the default method": we empower whoever is willing to do the job and then abandon them—a guaranteed recipe for burnout, resentment, confusion and conflict. I suggest instead:

1. *Democratic Selection*: any responsibility (esp. decision-making) delegated to a person or group be assigned them by as large a body as possible, in a direct and democratic way.

2. *Job Description*: positions be clearly defined. Which decisions or actions can be unilateral, and which need be approved by larger body?

3. *Time Limit*: position be time-limited, subject to renewal, rotation, or termination after task is done.

4. *Feedback*: specific mechanisms be established for: periodic reporting back to larger body; evaluation by both person/group doing it and by larger body; constructive criticism and support/acknowledgement of person/group by larger body.

Beliefs and Attitudes

Structural changes may support patterns of greater equality, but fundamental change must occur within our own thinking. We need to:

Recognize that we each have the poten-

tial for
oppressor
and victim, lib-
erator and ally within
us. Separate the person
(who is always inherently good
and worthwhile) from the behavior
(which may be awful). Forgive.

Name, don't blame: identify the pattern whenever it occurs without making anyone wrong; take responsibility for your part in it, and support others to do so. Be an ally to the individual or group being oppressed. Be honest, risk being vulnerable or wrong.

Read Margo Adair and Shea Howell's booklets, which are by far the most clear and concise tools available for breaking this and other patterns. [See box, page 7]

This is not "airing our dirty laundry." Keeping secrets perpetuates the patterns. Admitting our mistakes is a strength, not a weakness. We need an open dialogue to name and change this stuff.

This is not "irrelevant process details, psychologizing, or new age woo-woo." What we do and how we do it are inseparable; this is at the foundation of Green values. To continue to ignore our "process" is to reproduce patterns of oppression and domination in our movement. This is not a prerequisite to the "real" work; this is the work.

Daniel Solnit, Marin Greens. CA

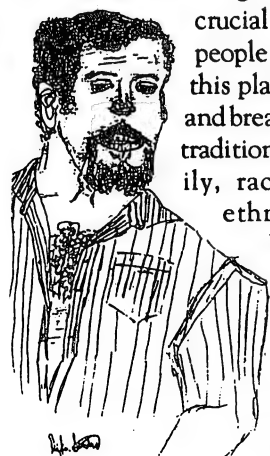


Red Reflections

Black on

& Green Boulder

We do not know that there is a future in store for human beings or any other form of life on this planet. That is the enormity of the crisis we are facing, and that is why it is



crucial that all progressive people and movements on this planet rapidly mature and break out of the narrow traditional confines of family, race, gender, class, ethnicity, neighborhood, nationality and grasp the bare fact that what is killing me is also killing you. No matter who or where you are on this planet today,

your fate and mine are intertwined. They cannot be separated, even though we have all been conditioned to believe that they are separate. The new reality is that if you want a humane and sustainable future for yourself, you must also insure that I have one—that everyone has one. It is, in the most profound sense, a restoration of the primordial "balance of nature" into the realm of human affairs! Natural and social realities not only intersect they fuse.

The so-called "ecological crisis" is at rock bottom really the crisis of the human race in both its internal (human/social) and external (natural/ecological) relations. Both the Euro-American Green movement and the Euro-American "environmental movements" must become philosophically and politically clear about this within the next 2

years at most! In the absence of philosophical and political clarity both of these movements shall fail disastrously in their quest to avert and reverse global ecological disaster. They are both presently functioning in profound isolation from the bedrock survival struggles of at least 90% of the entire human race who are victims of one form or another of racism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and caste or class exploitation.

In short, no genuine program for either social or ecological change can take hold on a planetary basis, if it is bound to the narrow interests of white middle-class males and females living in a handful of "advanced" capitalist countries in the Western world who have been systematically conditioned

continued on page 35

Greens Restructure

The Green restructuring process got a greatly needed boost of affirmation at the Boulder gathering. After much debate, many eleventh-hour compromises, and a few late-night pilgrimages to the Temple of the One Eyed God (*Green Tidings'* Macintosh zoo, for those of you who weren't there), a consensus was reached between various proposals for a restructuring process, and a comprehensive proposal for an empowered process was passed. (Let's be clear that we haven't yet decided on any new structures yet; just how we're going to decide on the new structure.) This proposal involved electing ten people to a restructuring committee which is charged with collecting all the relevant information, legal details, previous proposals, GCoC history.

We also took a straw poll at the Estes Park revealing that there's a lot of support for changing our name to just The Greens, and the idea of taking up national action campaigns rang true to a lot of people as well. Having an empowered coordinating committee also scored high.

The committee will take up The Greenfund incorporation issues and the IC logjam. The committee has a lawyer (Waring Fincke of Milwaukee) and a member of Greenfund (David Perry) on it.

We will be having a meeting in a marathon session in late November to hash through all the details.

We hope to agree on one proposal; if we are unable to, locals will choose between alternatives. After the committee drafts the proposal(s), it will be circulated to all the locals participating in the restructuring process for comment. The committee will then confer by phone and mail about any changes, and submit a final draft to the locals for ratification, which takes 75% approval. Non-responses will be counted as yes votes. This is all going to be done by April of 1991, Gaia willing.

The participation of your local is crucial. Look for a mailing going out to all the locals, discussing the details of participation in the process.

Here are some other things you can do to help: We're in desperate need of (surprise!) money. Locals who wish to participate in the

process are expected to contribute, or to request a waiver. We've succeeded in getting a committee with good regional and gender balance, and the representation of people of color. Now we have to bring the committee together, and several of its members need your support. Please contribute what you can; make your checks payable to Green Restructuring Fund and send them to Dee Berry, c/o Greens Clearinghouse, P.O. Box 30208, Kansas City MO 64112. We would like the names and addresses of any persons in your area with special knowledge of restructuring processes, and organizational forms. Please send their name, phone number, and a short description of their abilities to Dee Berry at the above address. If you have any ideas on restructuring, a restructuring plan, or models of how other successful social change organizations are put together, please send them ASAP to Charles Betz, 2545 Cedar Av. S., Minneapolis MN 55404. Write or call if you have questions or thoughts.

If you would like the complete results of the straw poll or a list of the rest of the committee members please send a self addressed stamped envelope to me and I'll send it to you. My number is (816) 942-3081 and Dee Berry's (612) 722-0670h, 624-0962w.

Charles Betz, committee co-coordinator

*The participation of
your local is crucial*

Living Postpatriarchy

John Rensenbrink spoke at the Green Gathering about the need to work towards living our principles. We must recognize that most, if not all, of us have trouble truly respecting and hearing others.

To create a new kind of political structure—free from patriarchy—we need to name these problems when we see them, as John did.

Men exhibit oppressive and violent behavior in interactions more often than women, but most men and women grew up in this patriarchal society and have learned from it. Most all of us need to do some work.

John was my first exposure to the Greens and is one of the reasons that I looked into it further. His leadership has been both powerful and almost free from the kind of bullying and violence that he named at the Gathering.

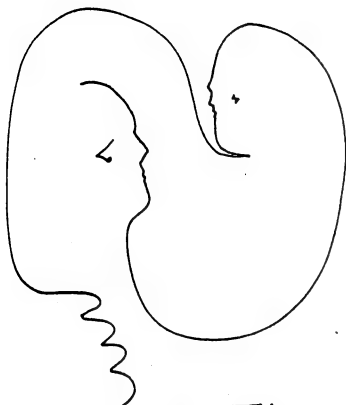
His departure from our direct leadership is a deep loss. Still, I believe we can make this event the beginning of a move towards more thoughtful interaction—of the type that John personified—by all of us.

In our ongoing work together, let's make sure it happens. Just because we may not be required to reach true consensus, let's still try to do it. That means listening to others; respecting the fact that they have valid reasons for their opinions (even if you think they are crazy); and trying to come up with solutions that mend splits, not deepen them.

That also means fostering positive relationships and building mutual respect so that there are less conflicts in the first place. We can all learn from each other.

Phil Rose
Long Island Green Party





*The shortest
distance between
two points is
a warm heart*

Community Building Group Forms

Dear Friends,

We were apprehensive in coming to this gathering, being aware of potential conflict. Although heartened by the evident resolutions of some conflicts...we are sad that others went unresolved....

We want to see our next gathering begin with two days of community building...Not only would this make the gathering a lot more fun and productive, it would also make more likely the possibility that conflicts would be resolved in ways that bring us together.

We are forming a group that will explore ways of building community among Greens at local to national levels, and invite you to join us. We offer to develop these ideas in conjunction with the Restructuring Committee and Future Conference Planning Committee. If you are interested, please contact Jim Cook at 550 S. Bay Ave, Islip, NY 11751

*from Open Letter IV Sunday's
Green Tidings*

Community Building Among Greens

Following the community building workshop that took place at Estes Park a number of folks are continuing to explore how to develop it among us Greens. They are sending ideas back and forth, building on one another's thinking. If you want to be part of this circle of correspondence send \$5. (to cover copy and mailing costs) to Paul Justus, 1115 Tennessee, Lawrence KS 66044—Send your ideas on what can be done along with it!

The Next Green Gathering



The 1991 Gathering Planning Committee formed September 14 at the SPAKA-Program Conference in Estes Park, Colorado. Our purposes are:

- 1) Actively soliciting and making available input and suggestions regarding alternative and less-expensive gatherings.
- 2) Reducing the National Gathering fees to half of the current rates, or as close as possible.
- 3) Soliciting and working with a host group for at least the next two National Gatherings or Congresses.

Our goal is to synthesize input and to help facilitate National gatherings. We hope to serve the needs of as many Greens as possible.

Here are some of the ideas for the next gathering we've heard so far. Please check the options you desire, then clip and return this section along with any other ideas to the address below. What do you want more of, less of, different? Look for an update on our progress in future issues of *Green Letter*.

Questionnaire

Time

- ☐ Summer 91 (when school is out)
☐ Spring 91 (when it's cooler)

Site

- ☐ an undeveloped, free site in Minnesota. Site could be prepared as the first part of the conference by those who want to come early and help.
- ☐ a very inexpensive 4-H Camp in rural West Virginia. Camping, cottages, a 450-person assembly hall, food, audio-visual equipment and other facilities provided by the camp.
- ☐ an urban setting in the midwest. St. Louis has been offered.

Theme(s)

- ☐ Community Building
☐ Economics
☐ Strategy
☐ Alliance Building
☐ Founding Congress
☐ Integration of any of above (please describe)

Housing—what type do you desire:

- ☐ camping
☐ dorm style lodging
☐ private room

Length

- ☐ 10 days total (4 for preparing site, 6 for program)
☐ 5 days at a developed site
☐ 3-4 days at a developed site

Sharing responsibilities—Can you help with:

- ☐ preparing the site
☐ preparing food
☐ kitchen cleanup
☐ site cleanup
☐ recycling, compost, trash
☐ child care
☐ registration and info table
☐ Green Tidings and computer networking
☐ transportation

**Please return the survey to: Lowell Nelson, 3953-12th Ave South,
Minneapolis MN 55407, (612) 822-6593.**



Thinking Ahead to the Next Crisis

We Greens crossed a threshold at our third National Gathering in Estes Park in September. Some have described it as a "baptism of fire." But in spite of the fire and the passion, and also because of it, we are in a different and stronger place.

We deepened, extended, and approved a brilliant Green program for the nineties. That in itself seemed a kind of miracle. We also made a quantum jump in our capacity to transform our relationships into a community of activists nationwide—locally based and connected with one another through shared stories and the sense of a common struggle. People of color other than white, though still small in number, had a powerful impact on the gathering and showed the way forward for all of us, not just on racial and ethnic issues narrowly considered, but on the whole nature and scope of our movement.

Furthermore, we took ownership of our national organization as never before. For example, we nominated and elected—on the floor, together—members of three committees. We thus conferred a degree of overt legitimacy on leaders (in vital areas of organizational re-structuring, continuing program/platform work, and planning our national gatherings) which has eluded us until this time. To those who have taken important initiatives and given leadership in the past several years, but have done so in the absence of clear lines of accountability, and have therefore felt themselves to be damned if they did and damned if they didn't, to such folks this development constitutes a hopeful maturing of green organization.

It is not my purpose to describe here the complex gathering at Estes Park. For one thing, I am still too close to those events that were alternately moments of great joy and deep pain for me.

More to the point right now, it seems to

me, is to look ahead and try to anticipate problems and opportunities.

In no area are we likely to encounter more questions and possibly divisive politics than in the tangled matter of what is widely called the relationship of the party and the movement. I think we need to do some reconceptualizing.

Events and actions of Greens are outpacing our received categories of understanding. Green party activity is gaining momentum in many states. Greens in California are at the forefront: they are seeking to enroll 80,000 citizens. They need and deserve our committed support, I strongly feel.

Yet should 80,000 people be asked to join, or to form, local GCoCs? I think not. They should be offered a choice: to be members of the Green Party of California and/or to become members as well of a local Green CoC. Offering a choice drives home the need for newly registered Party Greens to understand quite thoroughly that electoral action is only a part of movement work.

If there is not this understanding, and there is no orientation that leads to deeper comprehension of the Green movement, then electoral action will become the be all and end all of the Greens and we can kiss the Green movement goodbye, including eventually the Green party as well.

On the other hand, those who assert the supreme importance of citizen action on the issues, or of direct action, or of counter-institution building, or of alliance building, or of developing a stronger alternative press, are also on the wrong track, I believe, if by that they mean to depreciate an electoral strategy. Each strategy should be given space to be and thrive by each of the others and each should seek better and better ways to relate one strategy with another. In this lies the secret of our possible success. In this lies our opportunity truly to overcome the alienation from one another of those who oppose the system; and to marshal a set of social forces that will radically change the suicidal course of our society.

I therefore urge that we no longer talk, whether in praise or blame, about party and

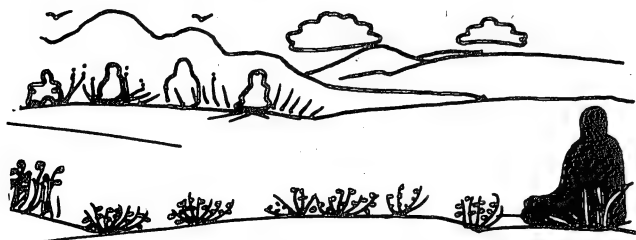
movement as if they were separate entities juxtaposed over against each other. It's misleading. Instead, let's use the word movement as the inclusive term and then, in our mind's eye, regard all the strategies mentioned in the preceding paragraph as parts of the movement. Each has its own reason for being and each deserves its measure of autonomy within the green movement, including organizational autonomy as needed.

Party building and election campaigns will gain strength, yet may not have the desired results. If so this need not daunt us. Nor need we blame ourselves. The entrenched power structure is tough and we must persevere and be flexible. We can shift emphasis to other strategies. Or, within the electoral strategy we can reconnoiter, regroup and try again. Or turn the focus of the strategy to levelling the playing field: fight for fairer ballot access, public financing of elections, for truly equal access to the media, and for proportional representation. A spirit of flexible persistence should characterize our action and our thinking in every one of our strategies.

On the other hand, if electoral action turns out to be a big winner, don't assume that this is "the way to go" and drop everything else. We'll always need strong action in all other facets of the movement. This is especially true if party work proves very successful, for at that very moment the party is most in danger of being absorbed by the system. It won't be if other facets of the movement are strong.

How can we ease the potential for tension and misunderstanding among the strategies? Parallel structures that are closely inter-related seems to me a workable formula. Inter-relationships can take many forms. For example, we can and should make it a requirement that those who wish to be Green party candidates must have a track record in local GCoC work in order to get the nod from a Green party organization.

In like manner, party allegiance to the Ten Key Values should be par for the course. Similarly, the Green Program can and should henceforth be seen and used as a fundamental guide to party platforms, campaigns and Green office holders. Indeed, the Ten Key Values and the Green Program should be fundamental guides to all the strategies (di-



Red Black & Green

continued from page 31

to believe that their limited interests are actually those of humanity as a whole.

At the Third National Green Gathering last September, the Green movement in the US began seriously to come to grips with this.

Early on, it became glaringly clear that there were certain "key areas" that the Boulder conference and the Green Movement as a whole were ill-prepared to address at this point. Of these, the three most crucial to the future of the movement were philosophy, social justice, and strategy. These are actually the hardest areas for most fledgling mass social movements. This is because our society is divided by social inequities and alienation. Overcoming these barriers is a formidable task—one that requires a considerable amount of time, energy and conscious effort to achieve.

One of the principle gains made at the conference was the experience of cross-cultural interaction. Many conference delegates stated that the experience of interacting with political activists from outside of their cultural group, while sometimes unsettling, was fundamentally challenging, exciting and enlightening. Many expressed that it made the Green Movement more "real" to them at a "gut" level.

That is a healthy sign, but it is only the tip of the iceberg! As yet the Green Movement is barely at the beginning of a truly multi-cultural experience. If there was any real meaning to the limited cross-cultural dialogue that took place at Boulder it was that we must commit the entire Green Movement to expanding its multi-cultural focus on a clear, principled and consistent basis.

In line with this last statement: The so-called "Rainbow Green Caucus" meeting held on Satur-

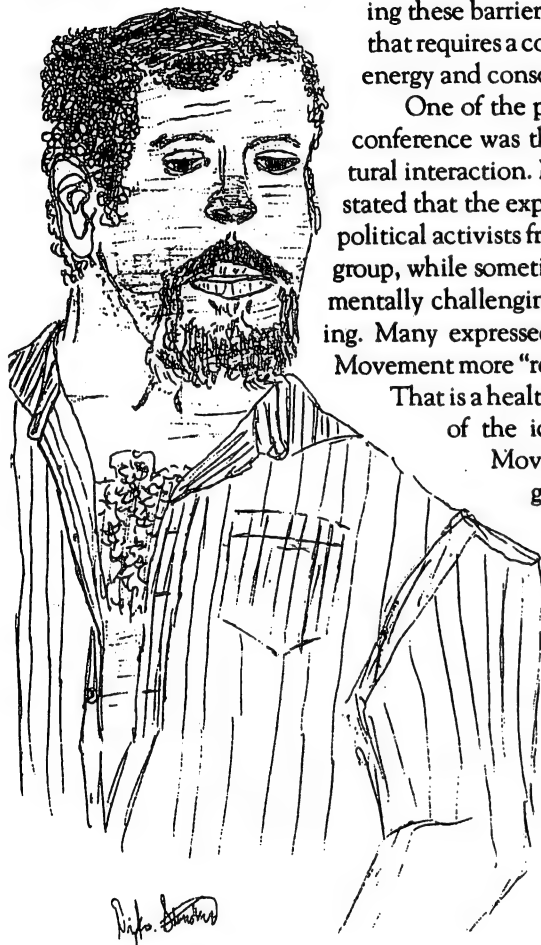
day night after the Alliance Building Workshop, ended up creating more dissension and confusion than unity. This was mainly because it seemed to be an attempt to engineer an ill-prepared political venture prior to having established a clear basis of principled unity for such an effort either within the Green Movement at large or even among those who had gathered to attend the caucus meeting. One indirect result of this, however, was to inspire the formation of an independent, national, African-American Black-and-Green Tendency, coordinated by myself.

The workshop on Alliance Building should have been entitled "The workshop for Green Processing." It was excellent and proved to be an effective tool for facilitating dialogue and self-examination for all of those involved! This workshop should precede all working groups and it should be scheduled as a part of the "delegate orientation sessions" at the national gatherings! For that matter, its methods should be adopted for partial use through out the entire national gathering process. Further, it should be integrated into all Green Movement organizational activities from the local level on up.

In conclusion, I believe that there should be a series of National Conferences on each of the three critical areas: philosophy, social justice, and strategy. Before these conferences can be effective there needs to be intensive cross-cultural dialogue and education throughout the green movement. Extensive outreach to groupings whose voices are currently not heard in the green movement is also vital (but not exclusively).

Note: I am writing an in depth analysis of the Green Movement. For information on that or the African-American Black-and-Green Tendency write me at PO Box 734, Occidental, CA 95465

Kwazi Nkrumah, Sonoma County (California) Rainbow Coalition Environmental Task Force



green news

Thinking Ahead continued

rect action, alliance building, and so forth), not just that of the party.

We can anticipate a deepening role for the Green local CoC. Green locals are in a favorable position to create the space within which different people with different but related agendas can put their feet up and talk, can learn to respect one another's strategies, and can take specific selected actions together. The Green local can become a multi-cultural and generative source of power that nurtures people in the practice of their

respective strategies. It can enable them to align and inter-relate party work, direct action, alliance building, counter-institution building, citizen lobbying, alternative journalism, and self-education. Re-conceptualizing the Green movement thus also means expanding our vision of the Green local.

Finally, we must, as we grow, explore carefully the relation of the Green movement to other movements. There is no space to do that here, but I mention it at the end as a reminder to ourselves that other move-

ments of serious social change are part of the web we hope to weave. Our actual and potential inter-relationships with them need care and tending. In a speech at Estes Park I reiterated my intention to work steadily at multi-cultural and inter-movement relationships in the next several years with all others similarly committed, and to connect this organically with party building.

John Rensenbrink
Merry Meeting Greens, Maine

Lancaster Greens Form New Local

The Lancaster Greens formed officially last February at 55mph westbound on the Pennsylvania Turnpike. Fellow countian Jim Keller and I had just attended the first meet-

ing of the Delaware Valley bioregion. I wasn't aware Greens were organized in southeast Pennsylvania. In fact, I didn't know there was another Green in Lancaster. I really didn't foresee that our connection would be the start of a new, energetic local.

In March of this year, eight people gathered to discuss our mutual concerns and interests in organizing further as countywide Lancaster Greens. We planned to get together

Greens Blossom in San Diego

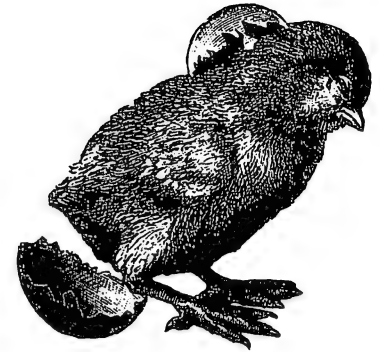
In So Cal when the summer ends and the weather turns inclement (temperature in the 60s with rain once a month) is the time when the GCoCs experience an influx of new and old members coming to their meetings. This fall more colleges started GCoC's and we even have high school Green groups. It's exciting to see the Greens develop a grassroots base and work toward official political party status at the same time.

This past summer saw the Greens of San Diego come of age. We were instrumental in the formation of the "Coalition to Stop Aerial Spraying" which consisted of all the major environmental groups here (Greenpeace, Sierra Club, CalPirg, Audubon Society, Environmental Health Coalition, and others). The media gave us tremendous coverage and folks who had never heard of

the Greens finally did. Then when the peace community decided to coalesce for a response to the insane U.S. actions in regard to the Iraqi situation we were asked to help organize a public rally. On very short notice, over 200 people participated in a protest/press conference in front of the Federal building downtown.

Yes folks, San Diego is Hot! We've had calls from newspapers all over the country wanting to do articles on the Green movement and on California's Green Party drive. Occasionally the S.D. Green Store will get a call from a reporter across the country asking how to get in touch with Jim Richmond at the clearinghouse. The Greens of San Diego are starting to bloom. Now if we can just get rid of that damn styrofoam...

Kip Krueger
San Diego/Tijuana Bioregion



again in a month and put together a public meeting for May and a booth for the local Earth Day celebrations.

In May we held our first really public meeting. Richard Myers came from Philadelphia to speak to the crowd of about forty. Then at the June meeting, we chose officers who made up a panel to field members' questions about the Lancaster Greens and potential issues that might be addressed.

In July the Coordinating Committee planned a great vegetarian cookout and potluck at the park, and four days later at our general meeting the foundation was laid for six different committees.

Since that beginning on the turnpike, more has happened than I imagined would in such short time. We were going at least the speed limit then, and haven't slowed down yet. More important than how fast, though, we really seem to be going somewhere.

Randy E. Newcomer

Contact the Lancaster Greens at PO Box 7413, Lancaster PA 17605.

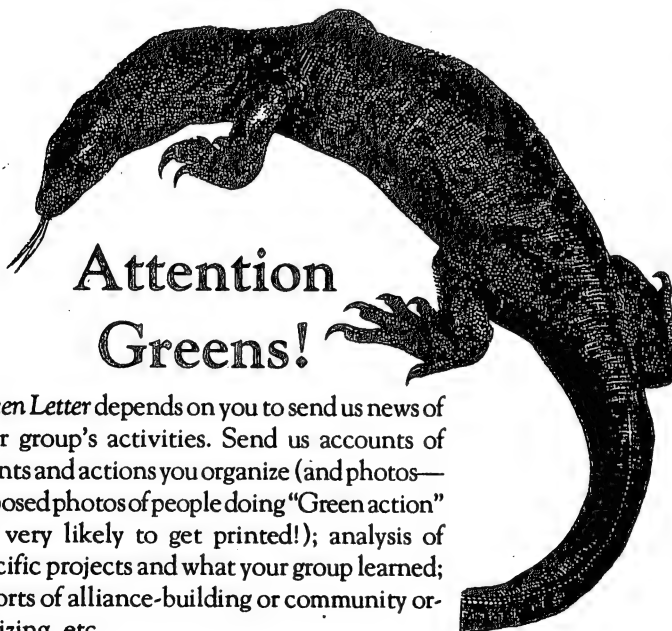
Article from the soon-to-be-renamed newsletter, Still Green, published by the Lenapehocking Bioregional Greens of the Delaware Valley area, PO Box 1125, Bristol PA 19007. Write for a list of locals in the area.

Attention Greens!

Green Letter depends on you to send us news of your group's activities. Send us accounts of events and actions you organize (and photos—unposed photos of people doing "Green action" are very likely to get printed!); analysis of specific projects and what your group learned; reports of alliance-building or community organizing, etc.

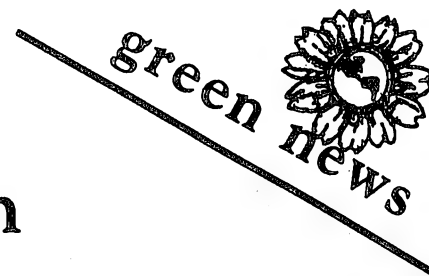
Please indicate your local or region, and whether you are writing as an individual or on behalf of the group.

Also, please check your mailing list and make sure we're getting your newsletter.



West Virginia Greens organize to fight roadside spraying...

The Shower of Poison

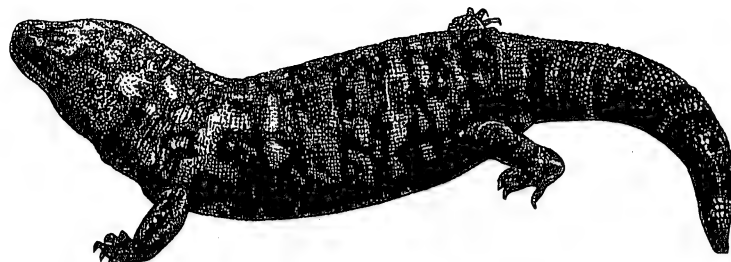


At the initial meeting of the West Virginia Greens, we decided that our first project would be working to stop the spraying of poisons (herbicides) by the state highway department and the utility companies. This environmentally-damaging practice affects everyone, from polluted groundwater and surface water, wild foods, deer, fish, crops, to people who are personally sprayed. The ramifications are enormous.

Even though the manufacturer's guidelines say these chemicals are not intended

for use on people, food crops or on crops for hay for animals, highway departments and

utility companies have been spraying poisonous herbicides for many years now. So



Organizing a Green Group in West Virginia

The organizing meeting for the West Virginia Greens occurred on June 2nd. Fifteen of us attended from Ritchie, Doddridge, Wood, Tyler, and Braxton counties in West Virginia and the towns of Marietta, Athens and Dayton in Ohio. Matthew Bennett from the South-East Ohio Greens opened the meeting with a history and overview of the Green movement.

Discussions followed on issues and organizations that we felt we could support and work with. The W.V. Conservancy and the W.V. Environmental Coalition were mentioned in this regard. It was suggested that we contact the Coalition to introduce our new group and to send representatives to their state meeting in September.

The afternoon session opened with discussion of the Ten Key Values of the national Green Committees of Corre-

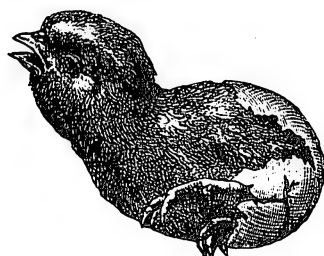
spondence. We agreed to adopt the Ten Key Values and become a member of the national group.

The discussion turned next to issues and actions. Some topics considered were landfills, health care freedom, right-of-way and roadside spraying, hidden costs of pollution and taxation of polluters to pay these costs. It was suggested we choose one of the many issues needing attention to focus our energy as a group. Roadside spraying was chosen, as it is an issue that affects everyone (See accompanying article).

Contact people for both the W. V. Greens and for the roadside spraying issue were chosen, and in addition to setting our next meeting we agreed to meet for social activities as well as for regular meetings.

It's a truism that "great oaks from tiny acorns grow," and many present could feel the potential for this small meeting to grow into a significant catalyst in the reclamation and repair of our beleaguered natural, social and economic environments.

from Beans & Greens, the newsletter of the West Virginia Greens. Thanks to Gary Zuckett for sending us a copy.



To contact the West Virginia Greens, write PO Box 144, Pullman, WV 26421, or call (304) 659-3193.

why have I become so concerned about this now? My entire family, including our three young children, picked and ate wild berries unwittingly the day after they were sprayed. People are not warned of these risks. Our neighbors had sprayed hay, cut and baled. Where this hay ended up, we can only guess. They didn't seem to care when we expressed our concern to them. Like so many others, they have blind faith in the powers that be and assumed that because they weren't told of a danger, there wasn't one.

Both utility companies and road departments have an obligation to warn people of these dangers. At the very least, there should be informed consent. People are not being informed and are rarely asked for their consent.

The problem is especially critical to West Virginians. We live in a very rural state in which many people depend on groundwater wells for their drinking water. Our state also has a lot of hunters and fishers who would also be concerned about this if informed.

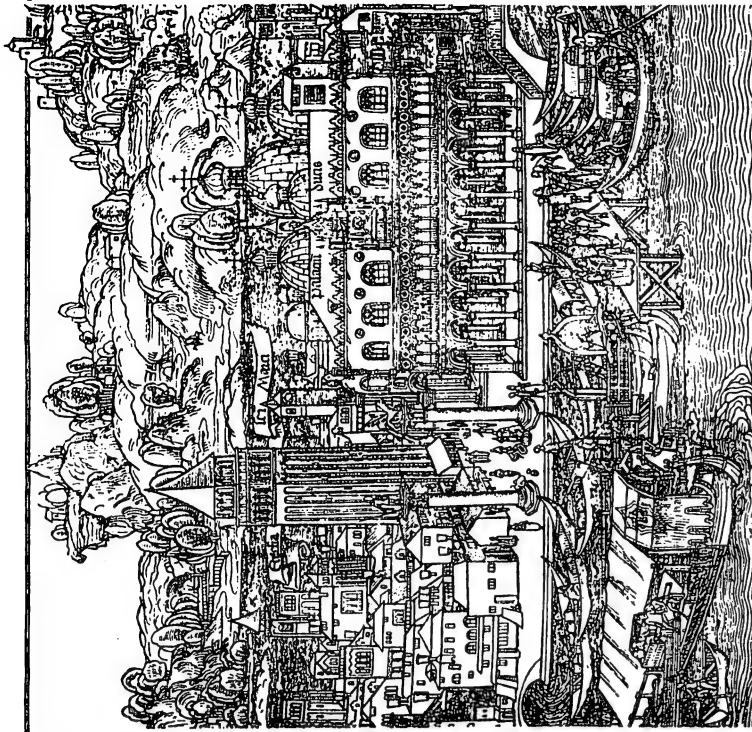
At our next meeting, we will collectively design a petition (write for one if you can't be there). We also want to put together a video documentary on this issue, so we need to start gathering information. Your participation is invited.

This is a workable project. Counties all over the country have been able to stop this practice. It's time for our state to come clean and stop this shower of poison.

Kay Basham
West Virginia Greens



The Green Almanac



November

- 2 Full Moon
- 4 Barney Frank re-elected to Congress after coming out as Gay, 1986
- 9 Kristalnacht, Nazi terror campaign presaging the Holocaust, 1938
- 18 Sojourner Truth, feminist and abolitionist, born 1787
- 21 National Organization for Women founded, Chicago, 1966
- 22 *Thanksgiving or Otherwise*
- 24 Scott Joplin born, Texarkana, 1868
- 29 United Nations International Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian people



December

- 1 NAACP staff member Rosa Parks arrested for refusing to give up her seat to a white man, triggering successful year-long bus boycott, Montgomery, Alabama, 1955
- 2 Full Moon
- 5 Mozart dies, Vienna, 1791
- 13 Meteor Shower, best seen facing south about 2am
- 17 Simon Bolivar, Latin American independence fighter, dies, 1830
- 21 Winter Solstice, Sun enters Capricorn, 10:07pm EST
- 27 International Fellowship of Reconciliation founded, 1914
- 31 *Annual night of reflection and celebration*
- 31 Full Moon



January

- 4-5 *International gathering to halt nuclear testing at Las Vegas, Nevada, sponsored by Greenpeace and*



"The best way to predict the future is to invent it," Xerox Corp used to tell us. Well, they did, and now we're stuck with it.



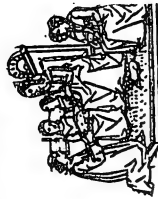
According to statistics released by the alleged "Justice" Department, the prison population of the United States in 1990 is double what it was in 1980. Not only are a record 755,425 people incarcerated; but the rate of increase, which was over 10% for 1989 alone, also set a new record.

The Department did not give details on the trophies it is awarding itself for these outstanding achievements.

Overcrowding of prisons also reached record highs, estimated at 10-29% nationwide, and an incredible 63% beyond capacity in federal prisons. Specifics on the violence and demoralization that such conditions breed were not released.

Given the well-known costs (estimated at \$50-100,000 per inmate per year) of maintaining such a prison population, and given that most of these prisoners have never committed a violent crime—couldn't the Greens come up with a better way to allocate the billions of dollars of money that are

- 8 African National Congress, South Africa's oldest freedom organization, founded, 1912
- 15 **Commemorations of the Birthday of Martin Luther King Jr, born 1929**
- 18 Potemkin, Sergei Eisenstein's silent classic about the 1905 Revolution in Russia, released in Moscow, 1926
- 20 American Civil Liberties Union founded, 1920
- 21 Huddie Ledbetter, aka "Leadbelly", born, 1885
- 22 "Every Child a Wanted Child"—Roe vs. Wade legalizes women's freedom of choice in reproduction, 1973

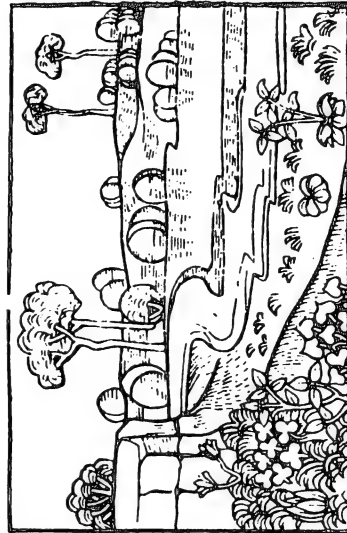


Key to the Almanac

Actions and Events

Historical Events

Planet Updates



Graphics from European woodcuts around 1500. Birds by Bartholomaeus Anglicus; harvesters by Petrus de Crescentiis; view of Salzburg Castle from Nuremberg; river scene from Regensburg; view of Venice from Mainz. Taken from Arthur Hind, *Introduction to a History of Woodcut*, Dover Publications, 1963. Calendar dates from *Syracuse Cultural Workers Calendar*, PO Box 6367, Syracuse NY 13217. Almanac designed by George Franklin.

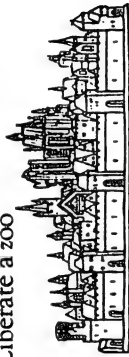
Send ideas, dates, puzzles, etc to *Almanac*, c/o Green Letter, PO Box 14141, San Francisco CA 94114.

Republicans and Democrats are wasting with their futile "wars" on drugs and other victimless crimes?



We're all working on our 50 Simple Things to save the earth. Gar Smith of Earth Island Institute took the next step and asked various environmental activists to come up with *Fifty Difficult Things You Can Do to Save the Earth*. Among the suggestions:

- 1) Bury your car
- 14) Spend a month tree-sitting
- 26) Abolish the CIA
- 30) Go to jail for something you believe in
- 36) Don't eat anything that comes in a package
- 38) Requite owners of nuclear power plants to live within one mile of the site
- 49) Liberate a zoo



And finally, a bit of satire by a singer from Terre Haute, Indiana, to the tune of Chuck Berry's "Johnny B. Goode":

Kill for the USA

When I was a boy, used to think it was fun
Shoot my friends with a toy machine gun
Now I'm a man, the bullets are real
Can't imagine how great I feel
Gotta have my way, Kill for the USA

Money & Missiles & in God we trust
Hate everyone who's not like us
To hell with trying to save the poor
They're all gonna die in the next world war
Gotta have my way, Kill for the USA



Fulfill our manifest destiny
Enslave the earth, so we can be free
March around with our flag unfurled
Never rest till we rule the world
Gotta have our way, Kill for the USA

c. 1990 Michael Hawkins.



Direct Democracy and the Greens

I'm responding to Enrique Petrovich's letter in the Winter 1989 issue.

Direct democracy must be an essential component of a green future. As a government administrator for over 20 years, I can testify that a government's interest is representing the power interests of a society. Or it can be put the other way: that a society's power interests, wanting government's clout on their side, cultivate their relationships with governments.

The Swiss model of weekly referenda and no professional politicians would be a big improvement. However, with today's computers, we could go much further. We could have total direct democracy. We could directly vote on all those things that are now voted on by Congress, legislatures, and city councils. A menu-driven terminal in our homes, or terminals available in public places like libraries, could enable us to serve collectively as the empowered decision makers.

In the past, the objection to direct democracy is that it was impractical in something the size of a modern nation state. With computers direct democracy is very practical.

Going deeper into direct democracy, a green constitution would recognize the rights of all beings. Trees, wolves, all beings, could vote. The planet herself should have a major voice.

John Owen

University of West Florida Greens Join Protests of Dioxin Dumping

The University of West Florida Greens helped to organize a protest this summer against Champion Paper Company in conjunction with a hearing to review EPA's

proposed permit for effluent discharge. In that permit, EPA proposes to allow Champion to increase the amount of dioxins it can legally dump into our waterways!

About 200 people showed up for the protest and marched behind the Greenpeace bus one mile to the paper company. We chanted slogans opposing the chlorinated bleaching process, and local experts gave inspirational and educational speeches at the paper company. Afterwards we formed a long row, facing Champion, holding up the Earth First! fist with one hand, and the peace sign with the other. I realized how much we need the protests, regardless of how effective they are, for inspiration and solidarity.

About 100 of us attended the hearing. What an education! These hearings are usually infuriating and purging at the same time. This one was just infuriating. I have never seen or felt a more sinister presence than that which came in the form of the Champion spokesman. He literally looked like a walking corpse. He spoke like the well-trained radio voices that usually carry political campaign messages. This pale, tall, dark-eyed "p.r. machine" was a master of the game of deceit and persuasion. All we had were the facts we'd spent late nights compiling and our hearts—both of which were undermined as amateurish and overly emotional. These are strong criticisms in a society that devalues feeling and overvalues cold rationality. Actually, we had both but Champion has the money and therefore the power.

All of us try to avoid becoming cynical with so many disempowering negative predictions. But, Earth!, we've been through hearing after hearing, research and preparation, marches, pickets, everything short of revolution and the outcome is the same. Proposals approved by DER, EPA, Department of Interior, etc as though we had never shown our faces. Where do we go from here? How do we keep the frustration from eating away our bodies and spirits? With so few committed activists, how do we keep the work from wearing us down?

Won't someone send some suggestions or jokes or b.s. peptalks; win the lottery; win an election; call a Green in the middle of the night to encourage us? I'll work on it too.

Amy Belanger



Senate Bill Would Expand Covert Powers

A bill passed quietly by the U.S. Senate last month gives the president new statutory authority to conduct a wide range of covert operations virtually free from congressional oversight.

The bill, S. 2834, provides budget authority for the U.S. government's intelligence activities in 1991. Title VII of the bill, which Senate Intelligence Committee staff members say was added as a reform of covert operations in response to the Iran-contra scandal, actually expands the power of the president to conduct covert operations without congressional consent.

The provisions delegate to the president powers that never before have been granted by Congress in statutory law. The executive branch's use of private contract agents, private companies and "third-party" funds solicited from foreign governments to undermine Congressional authority, which was a key element of the Iran-contra affair, would be legalized.

For further information: Marlene Smith (202) 797-8106. From the Christic Institute.

Building a Green Movement

A stable Green movement from the "grassroots" requires teachers, professors, pastors and priests. Surely there are more than a few qualified Green teachers or persons who are capable of introducing and inserting Green purposes into both public and private education curriculum: Social Studies, Contemporary Issues, Sociology and Ecology are only a few basic areas where the Greens may be studied.

Lila Waggoner, Penobscot (Maine) Greens





University of Wisconsin-Madison Greens held a rush hour bike rally on a busy downtown street. Police were caught unaware, and traffic backed up for blocks. Thanks to Green Net and photographer Paul Drayna.

green news

NECOC Newsletter Launched

Starting with its first issue in September 1990, Greenbrier is the newsletter of the New England Committees of Correspondence (NECOC). Featured in Greenbrier #1 are local reports from 16 Green groups, reports from the fourth North American Bioregional Conference, debates about Green Party building in New England, green actions, poetry and calendars.

Membership in NECOC is \$10 per year and includes a subscription to Greenbrier. Subscriptions alone are \$3 to : Greenbrier, 2 Florence Street, Roslindale MA 02131, (617) 327-1638.

Global Week Of Ecology Action

The third national Green gathering has endorsed the call for a Global Week of Ecology Action. Clamshell Alliance, the Left Green Network and the New England Green Alliance have issued a call for "... a week of massive nonviolent resistance to pollution around the world, a week to call forth a new spirit of social and ecological reconstruction."

The week will begin on Earth Day 1991, Monday, April 22, continue through the fifth anniversary of the Chernobyl disaster, April 26, ending on the 28th. The week of resistance and reconstruction will be designed by its participants, with the issuers of the call assisting in networking.

For further information contact:
Global Week Of Ecology Action
c/o New England Green Alliance
P.O. Box 703
White River Junction, VT 05001 USA
(802) 295-1544

Northwood Greens Active on Indigenous Issues

The Northwood Greens (Superior, Wisconsin/Duluth, Minnesota area) has had a busy year. In October we organized a Rainforest Action Night with a showing of The Emerald Forest. We also sold Brazilian cashews and Rainforest Crunch and had a petition table. In November we formed a committee which met with the local school board to discuss concerns about polystyrene being used in school hot lunch programs. In January we held a fundraiser, a "sock hop" which we titled "Dance for the Earth". In anticipation of the upcoming Chippewa

spearfishing season we held a non-violent witness training in February which was attended by over 100 people. We also organized two pickets during the spring to express our disapproval at the way in which our country and state governments were dealing with this issue. In April we helped to elect the first Green to the Superior City Council and returned a Green County Supervisor to his third term.

We did a lot of work with area schools during Earth Week and held our own celebration. This summer we are working on three main issues: loss of wetlands in a planned local airport expansion, lawn chemicals (several of our members testified before the City Council) and aesenic treated wood. We held a picket and asked that Duluth's newest playground which is built with this wood be tested to determine its safety. The Duluth paper has backed us with an editorial asking that it be done. Our Green County Supervisor will introduce a resolution in August asking the County to purchase no more polystyrene products for county use. We also had a "float" in our local Independence Day Parade. Our slogan was "Freedom Means a Clean and Peaceful World For All!"

Jan Conley



The Cumberland-Green Bioregional Council

When people ask me what the Bioregional Council does, I often tell them that we are like a hub of different groups gathering information, most of it on environmental issues. As the need arises, several of us form groups or integrate with already-active groups to boost their strength and work for one goal.

I could give you lots of lofty talk about the Greens and their purpose, their goals. But we are a lot of individuals doing things for the Mother in our own way by gardening organically, sharing all we know about treating her with respect, coming together in music and drumming to celebrate her and our love for each other and the Great Mother Earth.



Cumberland Greens Work in Nashville Community

There is much work being done by our Green family. People are working on permaculture, doing organic gardening with Community Sponsored Agriculture, working with Bring Urban Recycling to Nashville Today (BURNT) to prevent a new incinerator and lobbying for recycling and less garbage instead, travelling to Nicaragua to help with tools and knowledge—and now I want to tell you about the brave souls who came to Clarksville to help here.

It was a Green Women Project, with women and men from other groups taking

part too. We had secured some very low-cost trees and we decided to bring a little green love to the Red River housing area. This consists of mostly low-income families who had formed a group and are cleaning up abandoned houses and lots. We decided to plant these trees in front of a really depressing-looking school so that the children would look up and see a spot of green or a tree in bloom.

It was great that kids came to help plant, and some of the residents joined in. When all was done we surrounded the trees one by one and as we formed a circle I asked each person to pick a tree and it was named after them. As the children grow I hope they will be brought back to visit their tree.

There are others in our green family doing valuable work, many being involved in more than one project or group. There is no attempt to name all because it would fill the whole newsletter.

Peace, Doris

Edited from Greenlight, published by Cumberland-Green Bioregional Council, 2315 Essex Place, Nashville TN 37212.



A Response to 'Green Activism in New York City'

Kindly permit me to respond to Bill Weinberg and Jon Orcutt's "Green News" report on the state of Green work in New York City (see *Green Letter*, summer 1990 page 32). When they have walked a mile in the shoes we have worn in NYC, and more importantly, when they have joined us in order to expand our effectiveness, they will be in a better position to criticize.

While we have learned to our sorrow the failings of consensus process and how these can be exploited by disruptive personalities, whatever "personality politics and ego conflicts" exist are no different that anywhere else. The salient point is that you err in blaming such problems on the victim. Just because an individual may have personal problems that he or she cannot resolve in a cooperative, constructive spirit does not mean that the group is to blame. There are always at least two sides to each story.

As for the writers' story about "those

who had balked at giving the NY Greens' support" to saving the Garden of Eden (an illegal garden on the Lower East Side—ed.), there is one correct story. When the Garden issue arose in 1984, it was before the NY Greens had become a formal organization. We held monthly public meetings, free-form, to see where we were going. There was no structure or process for membership, voting, dues, decision-making, etc, because different people showed up for every meeting; any vote taken at any given meeting would therefore be illegitimate, reflecting the will of those in attendance at the time, not those who had attended earlier ones (or later ones). When the Issues and Actions committee stormed into a meeting to demand that the NY Greens support the Garden of Eden, the consensus of those present was that the committee should act on the issue but that the NY Greens had neither the facts nor the structure to vote for or against it. At no time

did I, Kirk Sale, or anyone else oppose supporting the Garden. In fact, in 1984 when I was still with Friends of the Earth (FOE), I persuaded the FOE foundation to act as a conduit for legal defense fees for Garden organizer Adam Purple if the need arose. So much for my "balking".

Weinberg and Orcutt cannot conceive that refusal to take a vote could be based on a belief in structure and process. They make a political analysis that, in their view, is based on "personality politics" and "ego conflicts." Yes, the Green movement is fragmented in New York City and elsewhere, but mostly because it is a rare individual who can submerge his or her ambition or ego in a broader movement or group. The New York Green Party has at least committed itself to grassroots democracy, and it has done so without the need to trash other groups or individuals.

Lorna Salzman.

Campus Green Network Forms

Seeds were planted last March at the IC meeting in San Diego, where many of the delegates present were students. Lunch conversations explored organizing on our respective campuses. A few students had Green groups on their campuses, but disagreed with the Youth Greens. These groups had decided to remain associated with the greater GCOC, rather than aligning with the Left Green Network, as the Youth Greens had seemed to do.

Over the next few months, much thought was given to a nationwide Campus Green Network, one that would be a sub-set of the greater Green Movement.

About 15 students from across the country attended the Estes Park Green Gathering. A small number worked out the details of creating this new entity. After a couple of hours we had prepared a draft caucus statement with necessary provisions all spelled out.

To have a more well-rounded statement, we found as many other students as we could to iron out the final draft for release to plenary. We soon sat down with 11 students, including three Youth Greens; after nearly three hours of debate on every detail, we completed our statement.

What resulted was the formation of a national Campus Green Network. Campus Green groups will function as local GCoCs do. The GCoC clearinghouse in Kansas City is now raising funds for an intern to organize colleges and high schools nationally. Amy Belanger, who worked on our caucus statement, has been the sole volunteer for the position so far. In Los Angeles, the Southern California Green Alliance has donated office space for a regional Campus Green Co-

ordinator. This office has organized a Campus Green group at Santa Monica College, and is working on the formation of new groups at five other schools. Many Greens from around the world visit L.A.; this grants us a opportunity to arrange speakers at schools across Southern California.

We are raising money for our regional office and the national Campus Green office. Some schools give their campus clubs as much as \$2000 to spend as they please, we charge Campus Green clubs \$10-\$200, sliding scale, to be a charter member. For this they receive access to speakers, information on local, state, and national Green events, assistance in planning regional direct actions and organizing study groups. Half of all money brought in by this office will go to Kansas City to provide for the national organizer. As some schools don't offer any funding for their clubs, we can provide some financial assistance.

We have a list of some 450 universities and schools nationwide that have shown an interest in the Greens. We are now trying to assemble a newsletter working group to get information to them. If you would like information on the Campus Green Network, or would like to donate funds to help us get off the ground, send to:

SoCal Campus Greens, 142 Hollister Ave, Santa Monica, CA 90405, (213) 31-GREEN. For information packet, send \$3. Make checks payable to: Southern California Green Assembly, (SCGA).

Or write to Green Committees of Correspondence, PO Box 30208, Kansas City MO 64412, attention: Campus Green Network.

Jason Kirkpatrick, SoCal Campus

green news

The following document was endorsed by Third National Green Gathering, in Estes Park, Colorado, September 15, 1990.

Campus/Youth Caucus Statement

Learning institutions provide an exceptional venue for grassroots organizing. Students on American campuses represent many different ethnic, religious, cultural, and social backgrounds. At the same time, we recognize that many youth and people who desire education are excluded socially, culturally, financially, etc. from formal educational institutions. Environmental and social issues are of particular importance to these people as well and Greens on campus are in a position to address these inadequacies. This, coupled with the potential of the rising environmental and social consciousness in and out of our schools, gives the Greens a unique opportunity. There is a need for students on our campuses to make a critical analysis of the society we live in and particularly of the present educational system. Youth and student Greens have been active in building the Green movement in local, regional, and national Green gatherings and in locals and conferences of their own. We now announce the formation of a new continental Campus Green Network. We recognize the 10 Key Values and GCOC by-laws as our guidelines. We recognize, however, the gender and race imbalance within this caucus and will work to rectify this imbalance. We call for a Campus Greens Clearinghouse to work in conjunction with the GCOC clearinghouse in Kansas City.



A Student Organizing Manual is in now being compiled. Chapters will include: How To Start a New Campus Group; Organizing Strategies and Official Club Status; Actions and Programs; and appendices. Each chapter will offer complete concrete, step-by-step tips to help students be effective organizers. Please send all suggestions and submissions to Amy Belanger, Rt. 1, Box 20, Newburg MO. 65550, (314) 762-3423.



Dear Green Letter,

On reading the letters for and against a Green Party in California (Vol.6, #2), I got the feeling that Carl Boggs and Sue Nelson feel unnecessarily threatened by this "premature" development. Carl Boggs worries that the statewide effort to build a party will drain resources away from the local grass roots organizing, while Sue Nelson contends that the undemocratic process of party formation already "guarantees control and movement building from the top."

It may be premature to form a statewide party as they both contend. However, it may also be long overdue, or perhaps the time is just right. Who among us has the crystal ball that can answer this question? Although the process by which the Green Party organizing effort got off the ground was not ideal, it was no worse than a host of political organizations which have made important contributions to the struggles for peace, social justice, and a better environment. Clearly history has shown that some very unlikely and ill equipped organizations (SCLC, SDS) became powerful vehicles of social change—not because their political values and processes were spotless, or because they already possessed an abundance of resources and grass roots support—but because they were well placed to ride a growing wave of social protest and popular discontent.

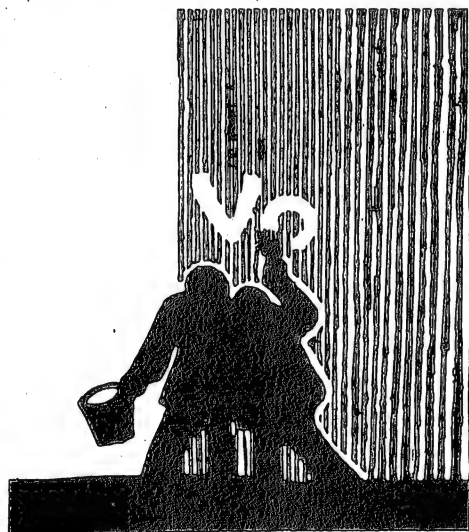
My experience with the development of the Green Party in the Oakland-Berkeley area contradicts Sue and Carl's concerns. The East Bay Green Alliance was suffering from a bad case of political doldrums until a few people became active in building a statewide Green Party. I was skeptical of their efforts until they snowballed. Soon this became the most thriving, dynamic part of the East Bay Green community. The initial phase of building a Green Party has forced those involved to come out of their small group, green cocoons; relate to the wide diversity of political groups in their area; and spend time discussion Green values and ideas with

Give the Green Party a Chance

thousands of people who had never heard of Greens.

The campaign to register Green voters has breathed new life and energy into the East Bay Green community. New people continue to become involved and enthused about taking Green ideas to the people. Everywhere organizers go to register voters they meet with a positive response from people who are fed up with both the Republicans and the Democrats and agree with our basic political beliefs and aspirations. The anger with the current political and environmental situation and the open enthusiasm expressed by so many people for a Green Party in California reminds me of the mood of students fed up with racism and war in the 1960s and their enthusiastic support for SDS.

No one should expect the Green Party



to become an overnight success. The initial goal of the party must be to grow deep roots by using the forum provided by electoral politics to expand Green consciousness and activism among a wider base of people. Eventually, this will lay the groundwork for local and maybe even statewide electoral successes in the future.

Instead of sapping each other of energy, the Green movement and the Green party have the potential to compliment and energize each other. The new people contacted by the party can become familiar with, and involved in, a host of issue oriented Green organizations while those organizations can

take advantage of the Green party's political forum to give their issues greater exposure and political leverage. Certainly mistakes have already been made and will continue to be made in the process of party growth and formation, but I have witnessed none of the kinds of top-down, hierarchical control problems Sue Nelson fears.

Why must the process of party formation necessarily be a net drain on the Green movement? As long as party formation and electoral activity help bring new people into the movement and expand the population of people exposed to Green politics it can be a tremendous asset. I think it is far wiser to get involved and make the best of this new party than become hostile or overly critical at such an early point in the process. Who knows, we may all be surprised with how fast this new party takes root and grows.

Craig Collins, East Bay Green Party
Organizing Committee

Nuclear Waste: Below Regulatory Concern?

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission (NRC) has just finished holding 5 public meetings on their new program called BRC—Below Regulatory Concern—which is a euphemism for plans to deregulate 30% of the so-called least toxic radioactive waste currently stored in this country. The plan is to dump this waste indiscriminately in landfills, burn it in incinerators or flush it down sewers. The NRC worked on this plan for years but the public was given little notice of the meetings. Of course the hearings were only farces as the NRC admitted that they were not considering revoking their plan.

If you don't want radioactive waste dumped in your water and landfill, write your newspapers and seek airtime on radio and TV stations. Contact the Safe Energy Communication Council (1717 Massachusetts Ave NW, LL215, Washington DC 20036 at 202-483-8491) for media information and training. You can also support two bills, S 2979 in the Senate and HR 5505 in the House which could make the BRC invalid.

Why Form a New Alternative Party?

Dear Green Letter,

RE: Discussion concerning the formation of a Green Party in California (Vol 6 #2)

Missing from the pages of ideological and organizational debate is the question that I feel should be at the heart of that debate - *Why form a new alternative party rather than working within the Peace & Freedom Party in California?* The PFP is an open, alternative, progressive and democratic organization with ballot access in the State of California. In the past, there had been some effort at organizing a "Green Caucus" within the PFP. Why didn't that strategy get fully explored? Why wasn't that option considered, debated and discussed within your pages?

If we are to form a National Green Party, we must work with preexisting Green- or Green leaning- elements.

These include the PFP in California, the Consumer Party in Pennsylvania and Indiana, the Labor Farm Party in Wisconsin, the Progressive Coalition in Vermont, the Grassroots Party in Minnesota, etc.

The Green Parties in Europe formed out of a coalescence of different groups; not from the distillation of an idea into its ideologically purest form and the splitting of hairs to microscopic proportions.

Particularly concerning how difficult it is to gain ballot access in the country, people who think of themselves as Greens are going to have to learn the art of working in coalitions. If a valid, ballot access organization that is in a general agreement with basic Green principles exists in a particular state,

in opposition to the Demorepublicrats, why, for heavens sake would Greens insist on *reinventing the wheel?*

I have seen no discussion along these lines in Green literature. However, Green Parties have sprouted where there already is

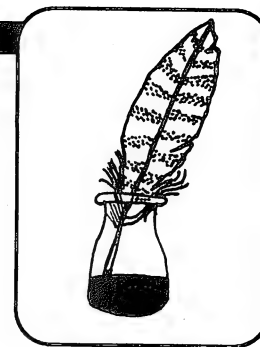
alternative political party organizing going on. This has the effect of splitting the alternative constituency rather than building a real third force.

If Greens have problems working with progressive electoral elements around the country, the problems should be explored publicly to see if we cannot transcend the difficulties. I pose this question particularly to 1) California Greens vis-a-vis Peace and Freedom Party, 2) Wisconsin Greens vis-a-vis Labor Farm Party, 3) Greens in Indiana and Pennsylvania vis-a-vis the Con-

sumer Party and 4) the Vermont Greens vis-a-vis the Progressive Coalition.

The Greens must grapple with this tendency of splitting preexisting constituencies if it ever hopes of being part of an electoral third force.

Zvi Baranoff, editor, Green Action,
1713 E. Broadway #293, Tempe, AZ 85281



Direct Democracy and the Greens

Dear Green Letter,

I'm responding to Enrique Petrovich's letter in the Winter 1989 issue.

Direct democracy must be an essential component of a Green future. As a government administrator for over 20 years, I can testify that a government's interest is representing the power interests of a society. Or it can be put the other way: that a society's power interests, wanting government's clout on their side, cultivate their relationships with governments.

The Swiss model of weekly referenda and no professional politicians would be a big improvement. However, with today's computers we could go much further. We could have total direct democracy. We could directly vote on all those things that are now voted on by Congress, legislatures, and city councils. A menu driven terminal in our homes, or terminals available in public places like libraries, could enable us to serve collectively as the empowered decision makers.

In the past, the objection to direct democracy is that it was impractical in something the size of a modern nation state. With computers direct democracy is very practical.

Going deeper into direct democracy, a Green constitution would recognize the rights of all beings. Trees, wolves, all beings, could vote. The planet herself should have a major voice.

John Owen





Readers Angered by 'Poem for Lettuce'

Dear Green Friends,

Green Letter just arrived a few days ago. It has so many good articles in it and says so much that needs to be heard, that I was taken aback when I read the not-funny "poem" on the back page. Vegetarians are mocked, ridiculed and often harassed for nothing more than eating differently than their meat-eating peers. Although vegetarianism is considered a healthier diet by most health-conscious people and an ecologically sensible diet by most ecologists, there are those who ridicule and criticize the vegetarian who isn't "perfect." In this world progress must count for something. If a person has decided to pursue a vegetarian course but is still using leather, wool or silk, he/she is at least on the right road ecologically speaking. Everything in its own time.

To place the "Poem for lettuce" in such a prominent place (it can't be missed) is to give it weight and importance. This sort of thing can only create bad feelings. The Greens need to create an atmosphere of unity not alienation.

I'm not sure what the purpose was in printing this ditty. If it was humor, it missed. If it was enlightenment, ditto. If it was filler, please let the letter go out one page shorter next time. I will continue to support the Green movement with my love, actions and money. I trust that the editorial staff will be more sensitive to what they chose to print in the future. Put-downs never build anything worthwhile.

With love and
gratitude,
Janelle Cohen

Dear *Green Letter*,

I would think your "Poem for lettuce" is better suited to a publication like *Cattleman's Journal* than *Green Letter*. You need to study the environmental costs of a meat centered diet vs. a vegetarian diet.

Then consider a retraction or apology.

Judi Kohl

Dear *Green Letter* Readers:

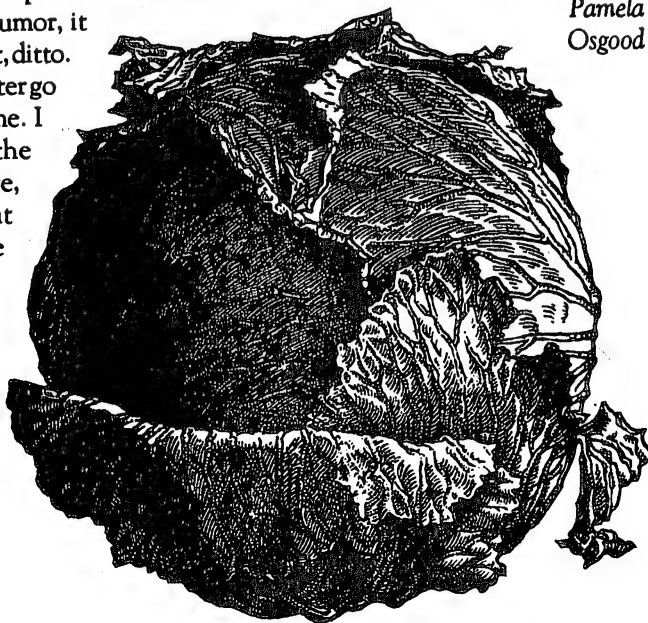
I am the only vegetarian (eating neither meat nor fish) in the GL collective and unfortunately was out of the country when the decision was made to print "Poem for Lettuce" in the last issue. I apologize as a member of the collective that it was printed.

I am certain that my colleagues would not have printed the poem if they thought that it ridiculed vegetarians. But it certainly feels like ridicule to me, regardless of whether the author, Chrystos, may have written from the perspective of having been ridiculed herself for being a meat-eater.

No need for me to say any more because Janelle Cohen expresses my thoughts exactly. Her letter is also printed on this page.

Apologetically,

Pamela
Osgood



Dear *Green Letter* Readers:

I can only agree with Janelle Cohen's point that "Greens need to create an atmosphere of unity not alienation." I add that we perhaps erred by neglecting to note that the author of "Poem for lettuce," Chrystos, is a Native American woman, and by failing to connect the poem with the article inside, "Food and Politics," by Rick Whaley.

However, I suggest that our letter writers read more carefully. For the point of both the article and the poem is not to attack vegetarians, but the intolerance and self-righteousness of some vegetarians who have been active in the Green Movement. The poem, for instance, does not argue that animals like to be eaten, or that animals don't matter. It starts right out saying, "I know you don't want to be eaten anymore than a cow or a pig or a chicken does but they're the vicious vegetarians and they say you do." The assumption is that no life form wishes to be eaten.

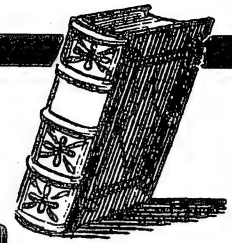
All life is sacred, and all life—even the plants—exists through the consumption of other beings. It is true that many—not all—plants consume other beings only after they are already dead, in the form of the minerals absorbed in soil and water. But this could be seen as reason to eat or not to eat plants rather than animals. Some carrion-eating animals fall into the same category. Land-based cultures, for whom all life is sacred, have acknowledged and thanked the plants as well as the animals whose lives they take for their own sustenance.

In response to Judi Kohl, who suggests we "study the environmental costs of a meat-centered diet," I direct our readers to GL Vol 5 No. 2 (Summer 89), in which we featured an interview with John Robbins, author of *Diet for a New America*. The point here, of course, is that it is not the consumption of animals, per se, that is ecologically problematic, but rather the production of animals—in a word, factory farming. A bioregional diet could include ecologically sustainable production of animals for occasional consumption as food without being "meat-centered," and without the ecological costs of

continued on page 52

From Walden Pond to Muir Woods

Alternate Ways Across America



From Walden Pond to Muir Woods, Alternate Ways Across America, by Mary Dymond Davis. Forward by Ernest Callenbach. ASPI Publications, Route 5, Box 423, Livingston, Kentucky 40445.

If, or rather when you are reading the news—or witnessing pollution, destruction, and violence all around you, take a long look at *From Walden Pond to Muir Woods*. It gladdens the heart in so many ways that you will be aching to plan a trip with this well organized and enlightening book as a guide.

It is so refreshing and intelligent in its depiction of ecologically interesting sites, organizations, as well as books and reports that even an armchair run-through is not only a gift of new knowledge about people and places in this country, but a real morale builder. There are many people out there doing imaginative and useful things to hold us all together in a more livable country and to help to save the planet.

I cannot now imagine taking a trip without checking out the route in *From Walden Pond to Muir Woods*, and if planning a sightseeing vacation the book could well determine where you go. It is easy to use so that you can choose those items which fit your particular concerns and you are bound to come up with a wellspring of information.

Chapters include: **Living in Harmony**—with subheadings such as Agriculture, Waste Management, Cities, Intentional Communities, Peace Initiatives; **Natural Areas and their Wildlife**—Wilderness, Agriculture lands, Wild and Scenic Rivers; **Environmental Study and Protection**—Camps and Trips, Environmental Study Centers, Preservation/Restoration Projects; **Emerging Movements**—includes history and information on the Greens and the Bioregionalists; **Recreation**—hiking and cycling; **Moving Around**—Transportation, Food, and Lodging; **Supplemental Resources**—Associations, Libraries, Communications.

There are three Appendices: the first gives the history and explains some of the

strengths and weaknesses of the Endangered Species Act of 1973 and its subsequent amendments, as well as statistics and source information on the endangered plant and animal species; the second is a chronology of events mentioned in the book from 1845 (when Thoreau moved to Walden Pond) to the first Bioregional Conference and the creation of the Green Committees of Correspondence (1984); the third lists the

UNESCO World Heritage sites located in the US, as well as describing the "Man and Biosphere" (MAB) launched by UNESCO in 1971.

There is a General Index and a Geographical Index—the latter supplies us with a geographical listing of states, naming under each the sites described in the text. Bon Voyage!

Casey Adair



Environmental Dispute Resolution

Resolving Environmental Disputes,
by Gail Bingham

Gail Bingham discusses "environmental dispute resolution" as an alternative to litigation. According to her, environmental dispute resolution (EDR) differs from litigation in that disputants voluntarily meet face-to-face, seeking a mutually acceptable agreement, rather than battling it out in court to finally have a third party's decision imposed on them. Sounding very "Green," Bingham explains the importance of negotiation, meditation, consensus building, and policy dialogue in settling environmental disputes.

Bingham provides an appendix, providing actual cases resolved through EDR. Organized under the headings, "The Dispute," "The Process," and "The Results," fifty cases

are briefly explicated. The appendix is perhaps the most illuminating portion of the book, though the section entitled "The Process" was disappointingly brief in most cases.

Bingham steers clear of any value judgments, and never makes her personal or professional position on environmental justice known. Though this may best fulfill the neutrality required of facilitators, neutrality about the environment is nearly equivalent to an anti-environment stance in this day and time.

Still, the work can serve as a valuable tool for environmentalists who wish to increase their chances of success by broadening their options. It also removes the veil of mystery that previously enshrouded the relatively new field of EDR.

Amy Belanger

Navajo

continued from page 21

to the genocidal Navajo Relocations Act. They are Diane Nomad from Missouri, Carol Francia from California, Junji Shimenuki from Arizona, and Duncan Murphy from Maryland.

** On October 22, 1990 some of the fasters will leave for the United Nations to join the Global Walkers when they arrive in New York City.

** On November 11, veterans are welcome to speak as well as Guatemalans since this will be election day in their country.

** On November 22, area Native Americans plan to feed a Thanksgiving dinner to the homeless of Washington, D.C.

We are exchanging ideas with and getting support from traditional people of this hemisphere, veterans, human rights, and religious groups, and numerous support groups such as SAIIC, CALC, VPAT, IITC, ANISS, Leonard Peltier Support Committee, Quest for Peace, Young Koreans United, and the Christic Institute.

In mid-January, Diana Nomad, Duncan Murphy and probably Congressional Medal of Honor veteran, Charlie Litekey will continue an open ended water-only fast until the repeal of P.L. 93-531 (Navajo Relocation Act). We invite people across the world to pressure Congress on this issue and to do back-to-back fasting until repeal of this law is accomplished so that the fasters don't have to individually fast to termination.

For More Information: American Indian Support Committee, 3912 Longfellow Street, Hyattsville, MD 20781 (301) 779-3063

Resources and Announcements

Deep Dish T.V. Network, the first national public access satellite Network will feature twelve half-hour programs on the global environmental crisis from the perspective of working people, activists, people of color and youth. Mon., 11/12 & Weds. 11/14 (6-7 PM ET): Garbage; Mon 11/19 (2-3 PM ET) & Weds. 11/21 (6-7 PM ET): Redwood Summer and Beyond; Mon 11/26 (2-3 PM ET) & Weds. 11/28 (6-7 PM ET): Environmental Racism; Mon. 12/3 (2-3 PM ET) & Weds. 12/5 (6-7 PM ET): Environmental Action and the Labor Movement; Mon. 12/10 (2-3 PM ET) & Weds. 12/12 (6-7 PM ET): Indigenous People and the Land; Mon 12/17 (2-2:30 PM ET) & Weds. 12/19 (6-6:30 PM ET): Youth and the Environment; Mon 12/17 (2:30-3 PM ET) & Weds. 12/19 (6:30-7 PM ET): Video Exposé, Blowing the Whistle on Polluters.

Deep Dish T.V. is available for organizational use. For more information contact them at: 339 Lafayette Street, New York, NY 10012, (212) 473-8933.

The Learning Alliance is a non-profit education and social action organization founded in 1985 that has worked with hundreds of community and social change organizations to bring a wide range of programs to New York City. Program format includes: workshops, public forums, celebrations as well as on-going groups and projects. Issues have included homelessness, hunger, multicultural concerns, ecology, personal and community health, women's concerns, socially responsible economics, creativity and practical living skills.

For more information on upcoming events contact the Learning Alliance: Options for Education and Action, 494 Broadway, New York, NY 10012 (212) 226-7171.

Re-Evaluation Co-Counseling Caucus in GCOC. To participate contact Daniel Solnit, 15 Madrona, San Rafael, CA 94930 (415) 454-5042 econet:DSOLNIT

Kazakhstan/USSR

continued from page 13

the local cement factory which has no air filters that work to protect the people's lungs. We joined a small demonstration which was able to get into the plant and called for workers to come and join them—which some workers did. The people demanded filters—one banner read "Must our

lungs be the filter?"

Another day we visited Batumi, Georgia, where the Greens had just been given a city lake because they wanted to clean it up. There Greens have made up IDs for themselves and go into factories and demand to inspect the pollution control systems. I couldn't believe all they were able to accomplish, just by having IDs and lots of determination. As I shook my head in awe, they smiled and said, "You don't understand, our country runs on IDs and nobody is in charge." They certainly have lots of challenges in front of them. But they have many plans for cleaning up their environment and for obtaining social and economic justice. They told me, "We aren't going to make the mistake the Lithuanians did, we are going to have everything planned out—our whole economic and social program. We are going to try and take the best from every system. We aren't asking just to exchange our present form of government for capitalism."

Pamela Osgood

Building a Green Movement



We are all coming to our own true nature. We are building a new way of life based on truth. As each of us expresses truth in our daily life, we are joined by more people. As we turn our minds toward freedom and away from greed and desire, we are healed and united in true companionship.

Here in the Ozarks we are building a new way of life. We share more, encourage one another, use fewer things and daily witness miracles that confirm there is a change happening much bigger than ourselves.

To build the Green movement, we must state and live out the deepest longings of our hearts and minds.

The Earth is showing us how to proceed.

Barbara Helen Harmony
Ozark Area Community Congress



Walt Bresette

continued from page 3

being shot at, had bomb attempts made against them, have maintained a level of non-violence and determination that can only be described as Gandhian in nature, teaching us who know the books, who have gone to the workshops, what it *means*...the power of non-violence! And believe me, it is not passive power. It is an act of a warrior in the face of the gun.

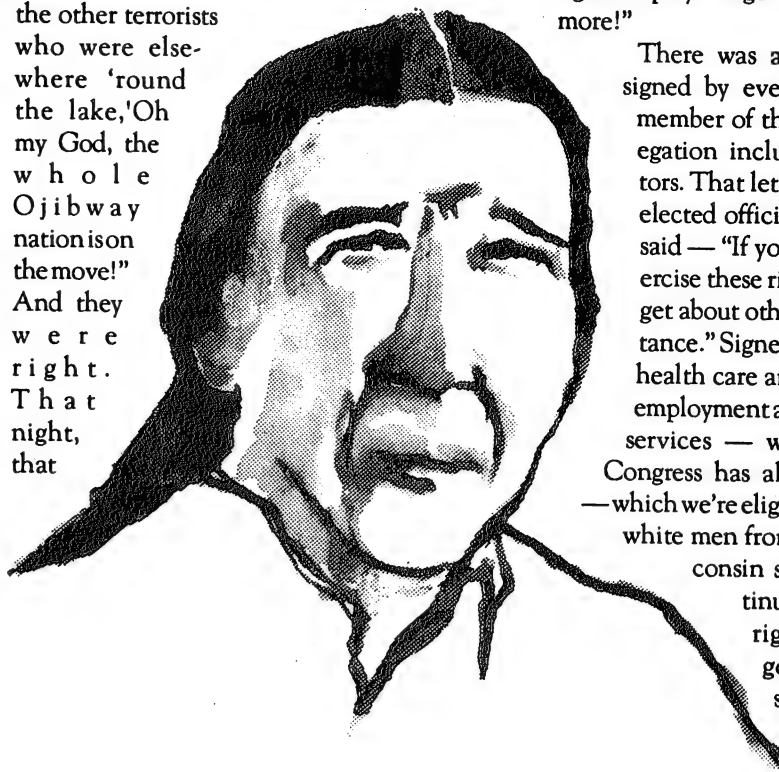
I went out fishing one night with my cousins, they had been shot at. We put in on this little inland lake, and as we got in, there were two State Department Natural Resource boats which put in next to us. They were carrying high powered rifles, they were military escorts following us when we went fishing with night scopes on 'em, because as soon as it got dark, the people would come out from the bush. We fished and we fished and we fished, and late that night we went home in our little rickety van, lost a tire on the trailer. We finally arrived home about four or five that morning, and I went to put the key in the door and my wife opened it. It scared me, and I said "What are you doing up?" "Where the hell have you been?" she said. "I was just fishing with the boys," I said. Once the rage subsided, then the tears came. The tears that are repeated night after night, week after week, year after year. She said, "I didn't know who to call because I didn't know if the policemen had shot you, or if you were drowned in the lake because they swamped you, or if you had been shot by a sniper around the lake, or if you had been run off the road between there and home." "I don't know who's on whose side," she said; "so I didn't know who to call to ask if my husband was still alive." Every family, every night, every week, every year goes through that in our little part of the world. The only people fishing in Northern Wisconsin during that time are those willing to risk their lives. Everyone else has lost their rights.

Not only did they try and shoot the tribal judge from my reservation, the situation is such that his son now can not come and learn from his father how to fish. This goes on in America, hey? But something happened, there—one of the leaders of this particular spear-fishing group said, "My god, it's a fulfillment of a prophecy!" he said. Oshkiibiimaadizig is the term he used: a new people, he said, came together.

During that time, through the help of

the Witness for Nonviolence and the Greens — throughout the region, they began standing with us at the boat landings. They began witnessing what was going on, not because they wanted to come and help Indians — trust me, that is not a place to have a meaningful relationship with an Indian. They came because they refused to allow the civil rights violations to occur—law enforcement was not doing its job. They came because they recognized that treaty rights are not just a one-way street, that a treaty is a commitment from a government to a government. It is binding not just on those governments but on their citizens. So they came to *stand as witnesses*. Others came too, to throw rocks.

One night on a little lake called Butternut, people came and stood with us...and they kept coming and coming and coming — a three hundred car caravan—miles long. And the contras were out there. We were listenin' to them on the CB's. And they said as they were reporting to the other terrorists who were elsewhere 'round the lake, 'Oh my God, the whole Ojibway nation is on the move!' And they were right. That night, that



time, that moment, that cause, that issue made everyone Ojibway. A new people, who would stand together for these very important principles, which you articulate in your platforms and in your circles.

So that is not just something in the future for you to consider; it is something that you must *do now*. Even if it's still in draft form. I want to talk about the forces at work

there, and they're no different than the forces elsewhere. One of the forces at work which led to this terrorist violence against native people in Northern Wisconsin is misinformation. Very simply that. And people taking advantage of that. Do I blame the UPI for doing that? No, they don't know any better! Because they went to the same schools as everyone else, how could you expect *them* to know any better than anyone else?

You have your own Butternut Lake. Try and get any of the reporters to understand the passion and the subtleties of your war...and you all have war. And they don't understand — well they didn't understand us. So misinformation became the first force which led to the violence. The violence was the second force! Intimidation. You lose your rights, just through intimidation. Our tribal officials are gettin' the faxes and the phone calls: "What are those guys doin' out there, raisin' hell in Northern Wisconsin, disruptin' our tourist economy? I don't think I'm gonna play bingo at your place no more!"

There was a letter sent out, signed by every Congressional member of the Wisconsin delegation including both Senators. That letter, to the highest elected officials of our people, said — "If you continue to exercise these rights, you can forget about other domestic assistance." Signed letter! Meaning health care and child care and employment and all of the other services — which the entire Congress has already authorized — which we're eligible to get. Eleven white men from Northern Wisconsin said, "if you continue to exercise your rights, you're not gonna get those services." And there wasn't a goddamn newspaper or profes-

sional institution in this state which stood up and said 'That was wrong'. Yet you and I know that if we were to write a letter, we would be imprisoned, because that's extortion and that's blackmail. Yet that was allowed to be publicly distributed in Northern Wisconsin.

continued on next page

continued from preceding page

I was on a talk show in Madison debating one of these Congress people during spear-fishing season. This young woman called up, and she said, "Congressman, now let me get this straight...what you're saying is that there's violence in Northern Wisconsin and the reason that there's violence up there is because the Chippewa are spearing this fish and that's getting the white guys mad, and you can't do anything about it so the solution is to stop the Indians from fishing."

"Well; yeah, that's sort of what we're saying."

"Well, how is that any different," she said, "than if men are sexually and physically assaulting women, and the solution to that is not to deal with that criminal, but to tell women that they must walk differently, and talk differently...and oh, by the way, don't go in certain areas of town, because if you do, we're going to cut off public transportation and AFDC and all these other services."

"Oh that, that's different," he said.

She said, "No it's not."

But we don't care what kind of intimidation is put before us. It's our rights. The tactic became, 'oh, we'll buy their rights out, if we can't scare 'em off the boat landings...' They offered a package of 50 million dollars! To the Lac du Flambeau tribe. Fifty million dollars not to exercise your rights! We could have defeated that in court. We debated it in Milwaukee. We decided that even if we won the legal battle, it would not be accepted — we must win at the ballot box. And we did.

In the highest voter turnout in the history of this one village, the people stood up and said, "No! Our rights are not for sale." The lead negotiator for the state of Wisconsin said, "The extremists won." When native people exercise the basic principle of democracy we are extremists in the eyes of this society — there's something fundamentally wrong here.

Why did all of this happen? What are the pressures afoot? One of them is gentrification. In this case it's rural gentrification. In Wisconsin between 1980 and 1990 we lost 12,000 small farms. Epidemic! We lost them to real estate speculation, urban sprawl, and to agribusiness. We didn't just lose those small farms, we lost a part of our culture. Rural culture. And the same forces at work that are destroying rural culture in other parts of this country with their small farmers are at work in Northern

Wisconsin. Major highways are now finding their way north. In every corporate logo is a tombstone for small business, for mom'n'pop resorts, and for rural culture.

So those forces are moving north, and they're telling the women who are workin' in the motels, "Well, the reason we can't give you a raise is because some Chippewa are disrupting our tourist economy." They get mad—I don't blame them for getting mad! I don't blame them for throwing a rock at me! Because they think I'm taking their jobs. The loggers are told that the real threat to their business in Northern Wisconsin is them Chippewa because soon they're going to claim all that timber too. They're not told that they're importing eucalyptus trees to the Fox River Valley from South and Central America while poor white loggers in Northern Wisconsin can't afford to maintain their equipment, can't afford insurance, can't afford health care or child care...they're told that the reason that they can't afford that is because the Chippewa are going to take their trees from them. So they come down there too.

So this whole expropriation of rural culture and rural land is going on. These folks at the boat landings are no different than inner city looters striking out at themselves, burnin' their own grocery stores — exasperated! Because they're hungry and they're tired and they have no answers. These are our neighbors. And some day we're going to lock arms with those people too.

Mr. James Klauser who authored this 50 million dollar package, is the Administrative Secretary for the state of Wisconsin. We found out he's on leave of absence as a lobbyist for the Exxon Minerals Corporation! We found out Exxon is sitting on six billion dollars worth of zinc underneath one of our villages. Mr. Klauser is the head of the department which the hearing examiner is from who's overseeing the permitting process for the development of an open pit mine a hundred and forty feet from the Flambeau River.

So there's a new kind of colonization going on. As we squeeze them out of the Third World they come back home. And where do they come home? To rural America. And what's in rural America? Small farms, animals, Indians. Well, we're here to tell ya that we've been watchin' the black folks and the women, everybody's stood up and said no; and we're going to join ya. We're going to join ya because we're going to say no too.

The reason is that we can't say yes...just like Rosa Parks couldn't. It wasn't just that she was tired — I tried to imagine it when I was speaking on Martin Luther King Day this past year, Rosa sittin' there and Dr. King comin' in:

"Rosa!"

"What?"

"Rosa, Rosa — they're gonna offer us a million dollars, if you just get back one seat..." "Two million, if you go back two!...." "Fifty million dollars, if you go all the way back to the back of the bus!"

I know what Rosa would have said: "Martin, this is your stop."

And the reason it's his stop is because he would have had no authority to negotiate her rights for her!

When the Department of Energy came and asked to site a nuclear waste dump in our land, we said, "We can't give you permission! We have no authority! It doesn't belong to us, it belongs to our grandchildren! It belongs to the animals! It belongs to everyone!" So don't ask us, because we can't give you the permission.

In conclusion when the electrical grids fail, who of us can walk outside and make medicine for us? All the computers will be nothing! Meaningless! But there will be power in someone who can sing a sacred song. So we need that.

We need everyone; the question is, what gift do you bring and what is our political goal? What is your gift? And you must believe me on this, there is no medicine man waiting for your phone call to tell you! There's no shaman out there — to guide you! You are the shaman; you are the power. You must trust me on this. I know that! You must stand up now, and lead yourself, and your family, and your community. You must trust yourself; and if you trust yourself and if you know yourself — and you must be proud of that! Get rid of this guilt! Leave it outside the doors! Come in strong, and tall, and proud, because I want to link arms with you. We have a war to fight, and we need warriors. As James Yellowbank said after Butternut Lake, when fifteen hundred strong showed up, when Oshkiibiimaadizig happened, when the whole Ojibway nation was on the move, he said, "We gave them a non-violent ass-kickin'." That's what we need to do!



Condor Conference

continued from page 15

delegates from both Canada and the U.S. felt there was at times a serious lack of spiritual content at the sessions. The North Americans felt the need to establish through prayers and ceremony a stronger connection with the Creator.

The Latin American delegates seemed to have a more political bent. They have developed a more active involvement in attempting to change the political systems which now surround them, sometimes actually running for public office and organizing wide-scale protests, whereas the political clout of the North Americans is just beginning to take on new form and strength, as evidenced by the recent blockade events in Canada and successful lobbying efforts for land rights and cultural recognition in Canada and the U.S.

Differences notwithstanding, bridges between indigenous peoples have been strengthened. This meeting or "Encuentro" will be followed by one next year, possibly in Central America, and then another in 1992, possibly in North America.

The conference was a tremendous success. One North American delegate, June La Grande, described the meeting as, "the most positive experience we have had in the past 500 years!" Others described the conference as a turning point for indigenous peoples.

Chief Seattle once prophetically described the European conquest of Indian lands as "the end of living and the beginning of survival." If we are to survive into a livable future, we must learn from the indigenous peoples, respect their place and their ways, and re-establish a "New World view" that inculcates a more rounded, healing orientation toward life and re-establishes nature and its laws firmly and respectfully in our lives.

Reprinted from Seattle Community Catalyst.

For more information on the Conference or the organizing around "500 Years of Resistance" contact the South and Meso-American Indian Information Center (SAIIC), PO Box 7550, Berkeley CA 94707, (415) 834-4263



Babykillers

continued from page 17



ing the world, carrying capacity can also stop imperialism around the planet! But it can't be applied in terms of nation-states. We have to think in terms of natural habitat areas - *bioregions*. The 'carrying capacity' concept can help us see our way through this critical juncture in the Earth's history. Catch my drift!"

Jarrell Smoothe: "The referee is breaking in now...a flag is down..."

Birde Nesties: "Alright, that's enough of that. Time's up now. Do we have any comments? I'd like to hurry this along."

Albert Blackhead: "All I wanted to say was that this is some *deep shit*, man!"

Bristlebone Toker: "OK, my turn! Here's how it appears to me: to make a change, we're going to have to gain power; to gain power, we're going to have to build coalitions; to build coalitions, we're going to have to relate environmental issues to the constituencies affected. You can be pure and powerless, or you can bring capitalism to its knees! That's the choice, it seems to me." (frenzied cheering from people with faces painted green, "Yea! Yea!")

Bare Sandals: "The oppressed peoples are the victims of the same institutions that are destroying the environment!" ("Yea! Yea!")

Tiajuana Brazzi: "I am not going to support any measure that lumps together the human race as a single unit and infers that every person has equal responsibility for oppression of any kind. (frenzied cheering from people with faces painted green, "Yea! Yea!") We don't want any racist, sexist, homophobic, homelesist...."

Jarrell Smoothe: "There seems to be a disturbance at the back. Who is it? I don't know...no hair, frothing at the mouth, burning an Iraqi flag dipped in oil... he doesn't seem to be on the scorecard, let's see... Looking in my 5,019-page TIBC Consensus Procedures Manual, it says that this is an... 'Unscheduled Interruption'! Oh, boy, things are really hot on Lake Cobbosseecontee today!"

Tuff Dood: "(Grrr, slobber, slobber, grrr.) Look here! I ain't havin' any more of this animal-lovin' babykillin' stuff (grrr, slobber) around here! We gotta right to anything we can lay our hands on! (grrr, grrr) 'We can have what we can hold.' Jesse Helms said that."

Birde Nesties: "Animals, do your stuff!" (Costumed animal figures glide in silently

from the four directions, position themselves around Dood and begin to hum softly. Dood's slobbering subsides into a gentle drool. Animal figures quietly lead him away.)

Red Coolwun: "OK, OK, during the interruption the committee had another meeting and the committee now goes on record as being against firing squads and 'lottery-for-keeps.' The committee is for condoms, if they're recyclable or edible. The committee has agreed by consensus to accept the death process."

"We are also adding to our resolution the 'Shit-Rolls-Downhill,' which states that stress (or exploitation) is passed from the rich and the powerful to the poor of humanity, who in turn pass it on to their environment. In other words, it is the natural world which ultimately ends up paying the bills."

(Mutterings from the edges of the crowd: "Not enough!" "String up the CEO's!" "Off our backs!")

Jarrell Smoothe: "There's discontent in this crowd. I can feel it."

Devo Woowoo: "Could I respond to this discontent? Some people feel that the carrying capacity concept will be used for further oppression. It certainly could be, if applied hierarchically. The best remedy to that is to use the idea locally in one's *own* bioregion, from the bottom up. It is most effective when used as a guide for one's *own* actions and one's local situation, rather than to prescribe programs for other people in distant parts of the world to follow."

E. Lexis Litbulb: "The carrying capacity model could help Brazilian eco-activists understand *their* relationship to their environment and their government as well as it can help us understand our own!"

Klaus Shafe: "Ecological wisdom and regional sustainability are also *political* tools! If we don't import Salvadoran coffee, but use products from our own region, it will weaken the economic thralldom of the plantation system. Good sense here is good sense everywhere, and in our local regions is where we have the most power for change."

Rodney Dangerdong: "Now, look, human societies are, for the most part, completely out of balance with the flows of the natural world; so much so that current political and economic realities have little relationship to ecological reality. The planet is making insistent demands, urging us to wake up to the ecological facts of life. Playing interest-group politics is tiptoeing into the future, when we must make a quantum leap."

continued on next page

continued from preceding page

Little Too Often Annie: "But the fact remains that there are areas that are overpopulated by human beings; there is gross overconsumption; there is oppression; there are dangerous technologies; and the planet does need its genetic and life-supporting biological habitat base. We need to discuss and evaluate different approaches, because any successful solution will be a hybridization of a variety of means.

Leah Jetta: "Dig in! Work close to home! That's the bioregional way. The closer to home we find our solutions, the nearer to family and community, the simpler and more subtle our answers seem to be. Proximity dissolves sweeping ideologies and generalizations.

"Our collective fate is closely connected to the fate of the Indonesian rainforest. Everyone is impacted by the barrels of radioactive waste rusting away at the bottom of the sea. But there is more strength in boycotting Burger King to save the Brazilian rainforest than opining on Brazil's land reform policies or its population control program. Local action makes things simple, easy, and direct — direct action!"

Jarrell Smoothe: "Well, as our helicopter pulls away from lakeside, I'm thinking that what I've learned here today is if we take the risk, speak the highest and truest truth we know, and hang in there with it wherever it takes us, in the end we'll be able to say we've done something worthwhile.

"In the meantime, the political weather is turbulent. There's a new front moving in. It's going to be a hell of a ride.

"Ted, back to you in New York."

David Wheeler

Lettuce

continued from page 46

factory farming of animals for meat.

Finally, it is noteworthy that none of our letterwriters responded directly to the point (implicit in the poem and explicit in the article) that a powerful and effective Green Movement can only develop through alliances and coalitions with other social forces, who are not likely to agree with us on every point. Self-righteousness and intolerance will get us nowhere.

For the animals, vegetables and minerals,

Blair Sandler

Agriculture

continued from page 19

buy grapes and now they won't, because they understand the pesticide issue," says Jocelyn Sherman of the UFW. "They were experiencing the nausea and the dizziness which, in farmworkers who undergo prolonged exposure, translate into high cancer rates and birth defects." The union is now calling for a joint grower-UFW testing procedure for new pesticides.

Don Villarejo of the Institute for Rural Studies in Davis, CA puts the number of farmworkers needing medical attention for pesticide-related symptoms at 1,500 a year. "We're not talking about injured birds or fish, but people requiring medical attention," emphasizes Villarejo. "And that count only represents cases reported by doctors when farmworkers have sought help."

The effects of such hazards on low-income communities has prompted nonprofit organizations like California Rural Legal Assistance (CRLA) to take on environmental issues on behalf of poor people. "They are the most affected by industrial air pollution and toxic waste. Low-income people always do the dirtiest, most dangerous jobs," says CRLA's Luke Cole, who is coordinating a joint project with the Natural Resources Defense Council on the impact of environmental hazards on poor people.

This realization creates the basis for another alliance between environmentalists and ethnic community leaders. CRLA is currently working with the citizens of Kettleman City in California's Central Valley. Located off Interstate 5 south of Fresno, Kettleman City is 90 percent Latino, and home of the largest chemical-waste disposal site in the state. This site, owned by Chemical Waste Management, generates \$6 million a year in tax revenue for Kings County.

Now CWM is proposing an incinerator project, which small growers and farmworkers have united to oppose. CRLA, with a tradition of working in low-income communities, is especially committed to letting local people set the agenda, while providing them with assistance in the permit process.

Groups like CRLA and the Mineral Policy Center have played a welcome role in community struggles against national companies. But in other cases, Latino activists and environmentalists have not been on the same side. "Don't call us environmentalists," says Eduardo Lavidí, an activist in New Mexico. "Here in Taos County," he ex-

plains, "environmentalists have pushed hard for an instream flow protection act, which ensures that a stream remains at a certain set level. But that will end up taking water away from small Latino farmers...disrupting the way they live. It will impact the water system which this community has been using for two centuries."

Lavidí co-chairs the Regional Planning Committee, an organization created two years ago to address economic, cultural and environmental issues in a seven-county region of Northern New Mexico and Southern Colorado. The committee is currently organizing a funding symposium for foundations concerned with sustainable agriculture, water-rights and land-use/land-grant protection. "Community activists here have been organizing around these issues for years, but we thought that since so many of our problems are similar, we should get together as a region and present a unified plan to these foundations," says Lavidí.

Although Latino activists in rural communities are eagerly adapting alternative-development concepts promoted by environmental organizations, there is strong sentiment among them that they have been left out of the national debate. They express a feeling that the national movement is, at best, not sensitive to the issues of rural ethnic communities and, in the worst cases, actually in conflict with a people seeking to maintain an agrarian way of life essential to their culture.

"We don't want these groups to do for us," said Lavidí. "We want to do with them. We want more of a partnership." His words echo the feelings of many Latino activists who say their communities' problems and solutions both come out of their own culture's view of the earth's natural resources. This view, they say, is one that the broader environmental movement needs to respect—and incorporate into a multicultural environmental agenda.

Reprinted from The Bay Guardian

January Nevada Action

Greenpeace/American Peace Test will be holding a conference on halting nuclear testing. International gathering January 4th at Los Vegas. Mass non-violent direct action at the test site on the 5th. Contact: APT (702) 386-9834



GREEN

Committees of Correspondence PROGRAM



Animal Liberation & Life Forms

A. Retention of Origins (Gene Pool)

Animal Concerns

Genetic manipulation of species to produce transgenic animals should be prohibited. (77%)

Plant Concerns

1) The importation of non-indigenous plants should be done only after careful review of its impact on indigenous ecosystems. (93%)

2) Greens foster an appreciation and respect for plant life in its undisturbed state. (95%)

3) We encourage the replanting of indigenous plant life where it has dwindled or been lost. (97%)

4) In preference for healthy, hardy native plants, we discourage the production of high-tech hybrid seeds with no evolutionary development, which have low resistance to disease and require heavy application of petroleum-based chemicals. (98%)

B. Preservation of Continuum and Sustainability of Being (Ecosystems)

Animal Concerns

5) The use of herbicides, pesticides, and other toxic agricultural chemicals should be phased out. (97%)

Steps should be taken to eliminate predator control on public lands, including the re-introduction of native predators where that would contribute to a viable ecosystem. (97%)

State and federal wildlife agencies should focus on preserving and re-establishing habitat for wild animals, instead of practicing game species management for maximum sustainable yield. (97%)

Where possible, native species should be reintroduced to areas from which they have been eradicated. (98%)

All SPAKA (Strategy and Policy Approaches in Key Areas) policies and statements included here passed the balloting at Estes Park. Percentages are shown only next to SPAKA statements and policies that did not pass the first round balloting, but were passed in subsequent balloting. The number shown is the percentage by which the statement or policy finally passed. Policies or statements are simply deleted if they did not pass, and the remaining items are not re-numbered. (See box on page 76 for more information.) The Program Committee is projecting that the final Program will be printed in the spring issue of *Green Letter*.

IMPORTANT NOTE TO 1990 DELEGATES: Most SPAKAs had friendly amendments made from the plenary floor prior to approval. Some of these changes do NOT appear in the versions printed here. If you were a coordinator or presenter of one of the SPAKAs with amendments, or a proposer of such amendments, and the amendments do NOT appear below, please contact the Platform Committee at the address below as soon as possible with the correct (amended) text.

IMPORTANT NOTE TO ALL LOCALS: Please submit any input or suggestions regarding the introduction/preamble or stylistic changes to the SPAKA document to the Platform Committee at the below address as soon as possible. THANKS! PLATFORM COMMITTEE WILL PUBLISH IT'S WORK IN THE I.C. BULLETIN AND ON ECONET CONFERENCE: "SPAKA. GEN."

(See page 75 for proposals on the ratification process and the operations of the Program Committee.)



Protection of native animals and plants in their natural surroundings must be given priority over economic development plans. (94%)

Further drainage of wetlands and development of shore areas must be stopped immediately. (96%)

6) We call on the U.S. government to act aggressively to end the international trade in wildlife and goods produced from exotic and/or endangered fauna. (95%)

Plant Concerns

7) Greens support the developing network of public access to seed banks, with an emphasis on traditional, indigenous seeds. (98%)

8) Greens support the land trust movement, which can ensure that large, complete ecosystems (in perpetual wilderness states) provide a hospitable home in which the individual and collective flora can thrive. (98%)

9) Internationally, steps should be taken by the U.S. government to prevent further destruction of wilderness, such as rainforests. (95%)

We recommend the following:

10) Fund expansion of public germ-plasma banks and genetic preserves. Require companies holding private seed stock to make it available to the public germ-plasma banks and to return older, open-pollinating varieties to the market. Encourage and support third world farmers to continue growing the remaining cultivator stock. (95%)

11) We should also encourage a broader range of cultivated fruit, vegetable and grain varieties, similar to the diversity existing in the 1900s before seed companies came into existence. (98%)

C. Quality of Life

Animal Concerns

12) It is clearly too soon for U.S. Greens as a body to decide confidently the question of whether animal experimentation is a necessary or appropriate medical tool. What can be said with confidence, however, is that for too long our society has accepted at face value the claims of the medical establishment. A substantial body of evidence exists to suggest not only that effective alternative testing methods exist, but also that a different overall philosophy might ultimately be far more effective and safer in promoting human health. (83%)

The government must fund projects to develop and promote non-animal technologies where they do not exist, with the hope that eventually animal experimentation may be eliminated, as soon as it is clear to all that it is not needed. (The European Greens have made the banning of animal vivisection a part of their most recent platform.) (93%)

As animal experimentation is phased out, the billions of dollars disbursed annually by the National Institutes of Health for animal experiments could be rechanneled into direct health care, preventive medicine, and biomedical research using non-animal tests and procedures. (94%)

In the meantime, procedural mechanisms must be established to allow for greater public scrutiny of all research. Areas to be

examined would include the welfare of laboratory animals and the wasteful public funding of unnecessary research, such as duplicative experiments. (91%)

13) The use of animals for cosmetics and household product testing, tobacco and alcohol testing, psychological testing, classroom demonstration and dissection, and in weapons development or other military programs must be outlawed immediately. (82%)

We call for government labeling of products clearly stating whether they have been tested on animals. (92%)

14) Nutritional education programs currently administered by the Department of Agriculture should be handled by an agency charged with promoting public health rather than with promoting the interests of agribusiness. (96%)

The benefits of vegetarianism in regard to the environment, world hunger, and personal health should be taught in all public health education programs. (90%)

Vegetarian meals should be made available at all government and public institutions, including primary and secondary schools. (94%)

15) Steps should be taken to begin phasing out intensive confinement systems of livestock production, also called factory farming, which causes severe physical and psychological suffering for animals kept in overcrowded and unnatural conditions. (97%)

The exportation of live farm animals for overseas slaughter should be banned, (88%)

and domestic transportation and slaughter of animals must be regulated to ensure humane treatment. (96%)

16) Responsibility for enforcement of animal welfare legislation must be transferred from the Department of Agriculture to an agency created for the purpose of protecting animals and the environment. (92%)

17) Commercial trapping and fur ranching should be eliminated. We call for an end to the use of furs, while recognizing Western society's responsibility to support alternative livelihood where ecologically sound for native people and others who must rely on trapping for subsistence. (81%)

18) We favor the human-animal interaction made possible by companion animals. We oppose commercial breeding, however, because of the massive suffering, overpopulation and ill-health it promotes. (82%)

Spay and neuter clinics should be subsidized by state and municipal governments in order to combat the ever-worsening pet overpopulation problem, which leads to the euthanasia of millions of animals every year. (93%)

19) We call for intensive education as to the abuse and exploitation of animals in entertainment and sports such as horse and dog racing, dog and cock fighting, fox hunting, hare coursing, rodeos, circuses and other spectacles, in order to bring such activities to an end. (90%)

We also call for a critical reappraisal of the use of animals in quasi-educational institutions such as zoos and aquariums. (91%)

Plant Concerns

20) The full diversity of natural habitats in ecosystems must be maintained to ensure the continued health of all plant species, both for the sake of the species themselves and for the continuance of all life. (96%)



21) We support policies that will preserve the maximum biological diversity by preserving all extant wild areas in their natural state, with provision for native subsistence cultures that depend upon hunting, gathering, and herding using traditional methods, sustainable agriculture, and alternative small-scale human communities living within their means according to time-tested ecological principles of sustainability, self-regulation, cooperative interdependence, appropriate scale and diversity. (93%)

Endangered Species

22) The protection and restoration of endangered species and/or their local populations, and the eradication of all threats to non-endangered species and their habitats, should be a main focus of Green action. (95%)

23) For this reason, all policies and practices regarding human settlement, food, energy, natural resources, water (fresh and saline), coastal development and industrialization must be restructured to prevent further incursions upon the ability of non-human ecosystems to evolve in a sustainable fashion. (90%)

24) We oppose trophy, vanity, sport, and recreational hunting, fishing and trapping. We do not oppose hunting and fishing that contributes to personal subsistence. (77%)

25) We oppose factory farming, feedlots, inhumane treatment of food animals, and the use of hormones, antibiotics, or other chemicals such as genetically engineered compounds (e.g. BVT in cows). (95%)

We do not oppose small-scale homestead livestock raising done in humane and environmentally sound ways. (95%)

Petrochemical-based agribusiness and livestock raising should be abolished in favor of use of natural organic wastes and compost. (96%)

26) We support ethical humane treatment of animals and ecologically sound utilization of plants for food or decoration, recognizing their species' existence or the biotic communities to which they belong. Accordingly, we emphasize a broad ecological and ecosystem approach as well as ethical treatment of individuals. (91%)

27) We recommend as an essential area for Green strategy and policy development and implementation the identification, protection and enhancement of sustainable systems in which all life can co-exist. (95%)



Arts

1. The Greens oppose censorship in the arts and encourage individual and social responsibility by artists.

2. The Greens advocate a mutually supportive relationship between artists and society, one which recognizes and supports an expanded role for artists in society.

3. Greens recognize that free and diverse artistic expressions are vital for challenging people to rethink their assumptions and for

educating people about past and present issues and future visions, and these expressions should play a vital role in our movement.

4. The Greens advocate extending access to a variety of arts experiences to every interested person.

5. The Greens advocate practices by artists that facilitate the social and political transformation of our society from its destructive practices to sustainable ones.

6. The Greens advocate creative, noncompetitive art education at every level from preschoolers to the elderly.

7. Greens support the voices and visions of artists underrepresented in the institutionalized arts mainstream, including but not limited to women, people of color, people with disabilities, children, and people of alternative sexual preferences.



Community

1. Community is the basic unit of Green politics, because it is personal, value-oriented, small enough for each member to have an impact. It is in these communities that we can best relearn the arts and skills of public life. (95%)

For the same reasons it is the best provider of social services and we need to create, strengthen and transform community-based associations to provide these services (except that if you have real community, you don't even think in impersonal terms like "social services", you think about "nurturing and caring for your members"). (89%)

Community must bring together all kinds of people, including (but not limited to) children and the elderly, mainstream and marginal, healthy and ill, differently abled, people of all races, rich and poor, in "social exchange." (94%)

2. Greens advocate the strengthening of communities through policies that give them an economic base (i.e. locally based small businesses, co-operatives, gift and barter networks), and political self-determination (i.e. neighborhood assemblies to which city council members are accountable). Strong communities provide space for freedom, creativity, and social innovation to flourish and have a low incidence of crime. (93%)

3. By community, Greens emphasize a return to local, face-to-face relationships that humans can understand, cope with, and care about — while it also creates a consciousness of our intricate interconnections with all peoples of diverse cultures in our region and around the world. (97%)

We recognize that defining a community by opposition to outsiders or other communities is obsolete and self-defeating. Healthy communities are free of racism, sexism and parochialism. (97%)

4. The Green vision calls for a global community of communities, affirming the immense diversity of heritages, lifestyles, and peoples, but also recognizing the necessary emergence of a shared global perspective, kinship, and concern. (97%)



We support the activities of an effective global organization which will encourage the development of appropriate community. (91%)

5. The basis of a healthy community is the nurturing of a healthy ecosystem. Greens recognize our interdependence with non-human members of our community — the four-legged and crawling, those who swim in the water and fly through the air, members of the plant kingdom, and the land that supports us all. (95%)

6. Greens advocate economic, political, and social policies which, within the basic standards of fairness, equity, and human rights, nourish and support local communities' self-determined initiatives instead of federal policies that seek to impose uniformity and standardization. We oppose abuse of centralist concentration of power by national government and national or multi-national corporate entities, which results in a variety of legal, economic, and social tendencies that discourage or prevent the development of human-scale community. (97%)

7. Green communities are supported by the implementation of land trusts, intentional communities, shared ownership, and other alternatives to traditional individual land and property ownership. (90%)

8. We insist on strict control through community action, to reduce or eliminate all forms of pollution, including noise pollution, for the health and well-being of all community members. (95%)

Noise and traffic should be eliminated in sensitive areas and wilderness. (96%)

9. We will work toward a Green, multi-cultural community free of class distinctions. (98%)

10. Public communication media in a Green community should be decentralized, participatory, and serve as a facilitator of information exchange (as scribes presenting the essence of meetings and gatherings, for example). (94%)

11. Social exchange is critical to community development. Programs teaching consensus and facilitation should be presented on a regular basis. Space should be developed for community meetings and all members encouraged to attend. These gatherings should be both issue-oriented and celebratory. (93%)

12. In all our community interactions, Greens affirm that human beings have the potential to be good, loving, worthy and cooperative. (95%)

13. Greens recognize the inherent value of all generations, and we encourage exchange and interaction between them. In particular, a re-connection needs to be made between the community elders and the very young on a continuing basis. (96%)

14. Greens are committed to the transformation of existing public school systems through active community involvement. (97%)

Greens recognize no separation of learning from life. All members of the community, including the children as appropriate to their age, should be able to participate in the process of learning, guided by the vision of long-term sustainability of the earth community. See the Education policy statements for specific proposals. (95%)



Direct Action

1) All CoCs are encouraged to come up with direct actions appropriate to their communities.

2) Plan and study before engaging in direct action. Formation of affinity groups is encouraged when doing civil disobedience.

3) Greens are encouraged to build coalitions with like-minded groups and constituencies, both in planning, and as a result of, direct action.

4) We support all forms of nonviolent direct action, including civil disobedience.

5) We neither condemn nor publicly advocate monkeywrenching, believing that such forms of resistance and creative sabotage should be left to individuals and their own consciences.



Economics 1

Goals for a Green Economy:

1) to align our economic systems with natural ecologies in a sustainable way that does not ultimately degrade or deplete the Earth;

2) to supply an ecologically sustainable level of food, shelter, health services, and education to meet the basic economic needs of each person on the planet;

3) to reduce alienation due to economic systems by providing meaningful and rewarding work and increasing leisure for all;

4) to reduce coercion and oppression from economic structures by, for example, encouraging workplace democracy an employee ownership;

5) to eliminate harassment, unequal opportunity for advancement, and pay differentials based on gender, age, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, religion, and "differently-abled;"

6) to decentralize and regionalize economic activity as much as practical, and to support local self-reliance and a democratically-accountable community-based economy;

7) to reverse the accelerating concentration of wealth and ownership locally, regionally, nationally and internationally;

8) to develop criteria for social/ecological audits that evaluate all goods and services on a "true-cost" basis, including their resource extraction, manufacture, processing, marketing, durability, and disposability;

9) to incorporate these audits in the monetary cost and prices of the products and services of local, state, and national businesses, governments, and institutions;

10) to produce goods that are durable, repairable, reusable,



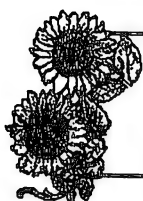
recyclable, and energy-efficient, using both non-toxic materials and non-polluting production methods, and conserving material;

11) to encourage and reward ecological and socially responsible businesses and financial institutions, promoting alternative forms;

12) to provide materials support for households and families in such areas as child care, leaves of absence, part-time work, etc;

13) to restructure our patterns of income distribution to reflect the wealth created by those outside the formal monetary economy, for example, parenting, housekeeping, community volunteer work, etc. and, finally:

14) to globally promote these goals in a cooperative manner.



Economics 2

1. To Greens, the earth and its natural systems cannot be owned; they are to be respected and cared for in accordance with ecological principles. Concepts of ownership are provisional and temporary, to be employed in the context of stewardship and social and ecological responsibility. (82%)

2. The Greens call for an ecological economic system that is based on democratic and decentralized cooperative and public forms of ownership and control, not excluding small businesses — a new way that goes beyond the economic systems prevailing in the world today. (75%)

Rationale

3. The corporate-market system is based on a competitive struggle to exploit people and nature for profits and growth. The Greens reject this system because it creates a dynamic of endless growth which is incompatible with ecological sustainability and fosters greed and domination in society. (83%)

4. The state-bureaucratic command economies now disintegrating in Eastern Europe are no alternative to capitalism. The Greens reject these systems as well because they place centralized power in the hands of state elites who have likewise exploited people and nature for military-industrial expansion in competition with the capitalist countries. (86%)

5. The economy today faces a four-fold crisis:

a. First and most immediately pressing is the recession now unfolding at a time when mountains of debt are said (by the rich to whom it is owed) to preclude increased public spending to stimulate the economy. This recession will add millions to the millions already jobless, homeless, and hungry at the end of a long boom of debt-financed capitalist growth. (78%)

b. Second is the technological revolution in microelectronics and automation which is radically increasing productivity and creating structural unemployment as the demand for labor is radically reduced. The ecological costs of this technological revolution cannot be separated from the social devastation it is creating: a society sharply divided between securely employed production workers and a growing mass of underemployed, poorly paid, and marginalized service workers. (76%)

c. Third is massive ecological devastation which is consuming the biological "capital" on which the economy and human life is based. As long as competition for profits and growth is the regulatory mechanism of our economy, competition will force corporate and state enterprises, as a matter of profitability and survival, to grow or die and to externalize production costs as much as possible onto the environment. (80%)

d. Fourth is the internationalization of the economy and the heightened mobility of capital due to new technologies of transportation and communication. Global corporations can shift money and production virtually instantaneously to outflank people in one part of the world when they organize to assert their rights. This situation is pitting the people of one country against another as their governments compete for corporate investment by offering tax holidays, anti-union measures, and environmental regulation abatements. (84%)

To deal with both the immediate effects of these crises and their underlying causes, the Greens will work for the following set of immediate demands as part of the struggle for a basic transformation of the economy.

Direct Action for Economic Alternatives

6. The Greens need to act now and support experiments to begin creating an alternative even before the public policies we advocate have majority support and can be implemented. The Greens support direct action to create the decentralized, democratic, cooperative, and ecological economic alternatives that we call for as part of the struggle to win new public economic policies that transform the economy. Direct actions Greens support include, but are not limited to: (89%)

- a. boycotting socially and ecologically destructive businesses (92%)
- b. organizing democratic unions, supporting rank-and-file movements for democracy in existing unions, and organizing international labor networks for coordinated struggle against the international power of capital (84%)
- c. organizing consumer and worker cooperatives (92%)
- d. forming land trusts to broaden access to land and reduce land speculation (92%)
- e. encouraging ecologically sound personal lifestyles (90%)
- f. organizing cooperative banks and credit unions (92%)
- g. organizing community-controlled economic development corporations (89%)
- h. organizing barter systems (90%)
- i. supporting investment instruments that use social and ecological as well as financial criteria (90%)
- j. supporting efforts to gain worker control over pension funds (89%)
- k. encouraging war tax resistance (91%)

Immediate Public Policy Goals:

Economic Rights

7. Guaranteed Right to a Job—Public job banks should be established so that people who cannot find decent work in the private sector can take a good publicly-funded job that fulfills



community-defined needs.

(80%)

10. 30 Hour Work Week with No Loss in Income — We should equitably distribute income earning opportunities so that technologically induced structural changes in the economy do not create a bitter schism between affluent securely-employed production workers and marginalized under-employed service workers.

(79%)

11. Workers' Superfund—Provide income, education, and retraining grants to workers displaced by bankruptcies, corporate flight, peace conversion, and technological change. The Workers' Superfund would pay workers at their current salary for hours lost from both involuntary lay-offs and planned reductions in the work week

(76%)

12. End the Exploitation of Child Labor - At least 88 million - and perhaps as many as 200 million children - under age 16 currently serve in the world's work force. The exploitation of child labor is growing in many newly industrializing countries where children are frequently exposed to hazardous conditions subjected to mental, physical, and moral harm and denied the opportunity for education and personal development. The exploitation of child labor continues to exist in the U.S. in agriculture nationally and in the sweat shops of New York and California cities. Child labor not only harms children, but takes jobs away from adults. Greens believe no child should be denied the opportunity for quality education and personal development. The Greens therefore call for the following:

- a ban on the importation of products made with child labor
- international agreements to ban trade in products made by child labor
- amend the federal Fair Labor Standards Act, which prohibits the exploitation of children, to cover agricultural workers
- increase the fines and add jail sentences for employers who are convicted of violations of the federal Fair Labor Standards Act by exploiting child labor

(85%)

Taxation

14. Variable Taxation on Production — This tax will fund the Workers' Superfund. It will be varied like a value-added tax according to the social and ecological priorities we choose. We advocate a system of "true cost" pricing to reflect our democratic choices about individual and collective consumption and ecological balance. This tax will be a democratic means of internalizing social and ecological costs in production.

(77%)

16. Progressive Wealth Tax — There is no reason for wealth to escape taxation while production, sales, and income are taxed. A progressive wealth tax on the richest 1% of Americans could more than pay for the \$200 billion a year federal deficits of the last decade. The Greens propose a progressive wealth tax on the 1% with more than \$1 million in wealth

(82%)

20. Peace Tax Fund — Until tax expenditures are ended, we support the U.S. Peace Tax Fund, which allows citizens to direct their tax payments away from funding the military in a manner analogous to provisions for conscientious objection to military service.

(90%)

Decentralized Public Sector Industries and Services

Rejecting all dogmatism as to either private or public ownership of productive wealth, the Greens support a maximum of free

initiative for individuals, cooperatives, and small companies to earn a decent living in useful vocations within an overall framework of public policies to meet human needs and protect the environment. At the same time, in situations of natural monopolies and where the private sector has failed to meet human needs or consistently abused the environment, the Greens will act pragmatically to bring these sectors under decentralized, democratic public ownership and control. The type of public sector the Greens advocate, however, is not centralized, bureaucratic nationalization, but rather decentralized, democratic municipalization of industries and services. Where scale and coordination require a larger than municipal scale, the Greens advocate the confederation of municipalities to share facilities regionally and the coordination of the public sector industries and services at the national and international scales through grassroots democratic structures of planning and coordination from below.

(82%)

19. Public Health Service—Health care should be provided free under democratic public ownership and control. A Public Health Service would replace control by insurance companies, hospital boards of directors, and medical associations with democratic control through elected representatives on local, regional, and national Health Service Boards. The Health Service would emphasize preventive care and employ salaried health workers who would serve the public on the basis of need, not profit.

(84%)

20. Public Banking and Insurance—Democratize the allocation of credit and capital investment by bringing the banking and insurance companies under decentralized public ownership and democratic control.

(81%)

21. Public Housing—The profit-oriented private housing market has never provided affordable housing for all. The Greens support measures to replace private speculative ownership of land and housing for profit with social ownership (public, cooperative, or limited-equity household) under tenant control, with security of tenure and equity assured, but resale for profit prohibited. Public funding of housing construction should go only to nonprofit builders. Public capital grants should replace debt financing to reduce public housing costs.

(75%)

22. Public Energy—The Greens call for a public ownership of the energy industry, from the oil companies to the electric utilities. The industry should be reorganized under a decentralized system of elected local, regional, and national energy boards so that the people have the power to decide that we should move from nuclear and fossil fuels to the efficient use of solar-based renewable energy sources, emphasizing home-based systems.

(81%)

23. Public Transportation—The auto and rail corporations should be brought under democratic control through the public energy institutions (transportation accounts for 25% of energy consumption). With democratic public control the people will have the power to choose to rebuild the railroads and inner-city light rails and to convert the motor vehicle transport system from internal combustion to such non-polluting means as electric propulsion through solar-hydrogen fuel cells.

(79%)

24. Public Ownership of Natural Resources—Land, mineral resources, forests, the electromagnetic spectrum (used for communication), and other natural resources are the product of nature's evolution, not any individual. As such, natural resources should be held in common for the common good.

(78%)



25. Peace Conversion — The money we need for public investments in social and ecological reconstruction is being squandered on the U.S. military to make the world safe for exploitation by global corporations. The Greens call for massive immediate cuts in military spending on the order of 75-95% and the transfer of these funds to social and ecological reconstruction, including a peace conversion program to plan for alternative uses for the facilities of the military and defense contractors and for assisting military personnel and military production workers through income, education, and retraining grants to make the transition to a demilitarized economy. (82%)

Long-Term Goals:

27. Conversion to Workers Cooperatives—The creation of worker cooperatives is a prime objective in transforming the market sector. These would be democratically controlled by their workers on the model of the Mondragon cooperative network in Spain. We call for public funding and technical assistance to convert capitalist firms to cooperatives. (81%)



Education

Educational Values

1. Greens believe that many of the problems facing the U.S. educational system reflect the patriarchal, materialistic, short-term thinking of modern culture. A Green educational policy will be based on modeling and teaching the following values:

- Reverence for life in all its forms and its interconnectedness
- Ecological wisdom and sustainable lifestyle, as opposed to a culture of consumption and waste
- Respect for the diversity and contributions of each race, culture, religion, gender, and sexual orientation
- Honoring individual, age, and ability differences
- Personal and political non-violence
- Democracy in the classroom, as well as the workplace and political arena
- Recognition of the emotional and spiritual dimensions of life as well as the intellectual and physical ones

Institutional Policy

2. Greens view learning as a lifelong process to which all people have a right. Our society should be fully committed to the value of continuing adult education and to providing appropriate opportunities for it (including community-based programs and release time and/or tuition assistance from employers).

3. The current inefficient, hierarchical, and bureaucratic government-run educational system must be decentralized and given over to democratic local control at the level of the classroom and individual school.

4. Greens call for exploration of a wide variety of government-funded institutional alternatives and educational methods, includ-

ing cooperative schools, home schooling, and other creative schooling options.

4a. As it is unfair for only wealthy parents to be able to choose freely among schools, parents of all incomes should be empowered through such means as educational vouchers (including transportation costs) to choose the particular school and educational orientation they want for their children among both public and private institutions (including home schooling).

5. Greens support increased funding for education and a shift in decision-making responsibility and funding control for education, so that teachers are making most decisions about the curriculum, school goals and policies, specific students, school accreditation, and administrative and staff hiring, with significant involvement from parents, older children, and the local community.

6. Greens support after-school programs for children of single or working parents, and we oppose compulsory pre-school education.

7. Greens oppose the traditional pretense that education can be value-free or value-neutral, which has resulted in a public education that cannot intelligently address the whole child or the whole of life.

8. Greens support the development of parent education programs in such areas as child development, educational tasks, parenting, and creative non-violent discipline, as well as the inviting of parents to assist in their children's education and school activities.

9. Greens have deep concern about the growing direct intervention of corporations in our schools. While they often promote vocationalism, conformity, and the culture of consumption and waste, we recognize the possibility for socially and ecologically sensitive corporations (with proper monitoring) to bring positive contributions to education.

10. Greens will work to achieve racial and gender balance among school faculties.

11. We challenge all those who profess concern for social justice to volunteer as big sisters and brothers to disadvantaged school children. Only through caring, consistent, respectful human contact can we hope to help children break out of the cycle of drugs, crime, poverty, and materialism that threatens children of all races across the nation.

Curricular Content

12. In addition to teaching the basic skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic, Greens advocate holistic education emphasizing the challenge of creating a sustainable, just, and peaceful society in harmony with the earth and its life.

13. The Greens propose developing critical thinking skills which include skills for evaluation of the media, questioning authority and personal problem-solving.

14. Greens advocate teaching alternative political perspectives, alternative economic views, and the unbiased study of religions.

15. Greens propose intercultural education, histories of important movements for social and environmental change, and an unbiased "herstory."

16. Greens advocate teaching personal responsibility relating to self, the group, and the globe.

17. Bioregional awareness and perspectives should be incorporated into many aspects of the school curriculum and should



include direct experience of nature as an interactive whole as the foundation for all other natural study and science. The bio-region should also be a focus for social studies, emphasizing its changing history, the environmental and human effects of past development patterns, and the multiple cultural contributions and interplay among the several peoples who have lived, worked, and played there.

18. Greens feel that the local environment should be the core of the curriculum. We would foster love and respect for the place that nourishes us, while respecting the similar attachments of other peoples to their environment.

19. Greens advocate creative, noncompetitive art education at every age level as a curricular necessity in a holistic education, and we support the integration of the arts and artistic method into other areas of the curriculum as well. Local arts and crafts from past and present can make an important contribution to art education.

20. Greens advocate an experimental and exploratory approach to education for both teachers and students.

21. Greens advocate the teaching of health education, nutrition, physical development, and appropriate sex education.

22. Greens advocate the critical teaching of practical citizenship and current events.

Skills

23. Greens believe that all too often our schools foster conformity and blind obedience instead of treating students as people who deserve respect. We recommend instead a student-centered education which supports the following psychological elements: self-respect, self-awareness, enhanced intuition, coping and consensus skills, ability to express one's feelings, and feminine consciousness.

24. Greens oppose the tendency in many school classrooms to rely upon rote memorization, seeking the "right" answer, and the separation of theory and practice. Instead we support the enhancement of such skills as: hands-on learning, problem-solving, learning to make connections, and respect for diversity of gender, race, and ethnicity and of different learning styles and abilities.

25. Greens believe that class-divided education denies children in the inner cities, poor rural areas, and on Indian reservations even minimal survival skills, while giving a privileged minority the confidence and connections necessary for success in the rat-race world.

26. Greens believe every student should learn reading and writing, the skills of personal financial responsibility, use of a computer, parenting, thinking critically, and resolving conflicts non-violently.

27. Greens condemn the overwhelming focus in our schools on team sports, which divides our children into winners and losers — with "winning" being "the only thing." We propose instead a physical education program to make young people aware of their bodies and to help them balance physical, emotional, and intellectual growth, as well as a sports program that emphasizes cooperative play and the achievement of personal goals.

Educational Technique

28. Greens urge the reformation of teacher-training programs to include more careful study of child development, better applications of educational methods to children's age-specific character-

istics and abilities, encouragement of creative teaching techniques and experimentation, practice in non-violent discipline and personal communication strategies that will encourage student motivation based on a positive self-image, training or experiences in several arts and crafts, and more thorough evaluation and detailed feedback on student teaching experiences.

29. Greens advocate that learning experiences accord with the natural growth rhythms, stages, and developmental abilities of students.

30. Based on our belief that everyone is intelligent and that learning is a two-way street, the Greens subscribe to a shift of focus to active learning on the part of both student and teacher.

31. Greens believe that the learner is empowered through self-directed, hands-on, and experiential (both active and receptive) learning experiences.

32. Greens believe in avoiding externally imposed motivation through behavioral modification techniques, reward-and-punishment, or the grading system. Students should be encouraged to develop their own intrinsic capacities to succeed.

33. Greens advocate a ban on corporal punishment in every state in the U.S.

34. Greens believe that students should be free to make mistakes so that they can learn through personal experience feed-back what works and what doesn't. Fear of failure inhibits one's ability to learn.

35. Greens advocate the promotion of peer counseling and teaching. We also support encouraging older children to work with younger ones for mutual academic and emotional benefit.

36. Greens believe that goal-setting and evaluation of the learning process should include the input of the student along with that of the teacher and should be based on progress, enjoyment, and creative ability to come up with a new response in each situation rather than the ability to meet standards and conform.

37. Greens stress respect for diversity of learning styles related to gender, race, ethnicity, and personality.

38. Greens support expansion of the traditional concept of the classroom: the bringing in of plants and animals, the growing of food, the increased use of the schoolyard, neighboring woodlands, and neighborhoods. Excessive regimentation of the classroom in terms of both spatial design and the temporal division of the day must be avoided.

39. Greens recommend expanding the use of many kinds of non-classroom learning involving a variety of types of "teachers" from the local community (whether credentialed or not). These experiences, which could include public service projects, field experiences, and work experiences, should be valued as highly as academic learning.

Higher Education

40. Greens insist that all people have a right to continuing or higher education. Such education should be publicly financed and viewed as a good and necessary investment in our future.

41. Greens deplore the trend toward specialization in undergraduate schools. We favor policies that encourage holistic, interdisciplinary, bioregionally conscious college curricula as essential for the development of effective citizens. Students must learn how to learn.



42. Greens call for more participatory, interdisciplinary educational methods such as interdepartmental team-teaching, non-classroom learning/living experiences, guided independent research, travel and field experience.

43. Greens oppose the ever-increasing military and corporate control over the priorities and topics of academic research.

44. Greens demand that educational faculties, administrations, Boards of Trustees, and student bodies become more gender and racially balanced.

45. Greens insist that students and communities have real participation in school decision-making, and students over their course of study. Higher education should be a cooperative activity between students and faculty.

46. Greens insist that students are implicitly taught contempt for physical labor; others, usually persons of color, do the hard work needed to maintain the institution. Greens therefore urge that all students engage in some reasonable amount of physical labor to maintain their school.

47. Greens reject the excessive focus on western civilization in collegiate humanities programs and call for the full integration of the cultural and scientific achievements, histories, etc., of Native American, African, Asian, Pacific Island, Latin American, and other societies.

48. Greens oppose federal grant and loan program coercion of students to register for the draft, to sign no drug use pledges, or to conform to other civil-liberty infringing standards.

49. Greens oppose so-called financial "aid" packages that burden graduates with loans to the point where they cannot enter lower paying public interest professions.

50. Greens believe that the bio-region must be incorporated into curricular planning. The university must be a responsible citizen of its bioregion in order to train its students to be likewise.

51. Greens support variety in types of institutions of higher learning; schools of preventative medicine, schools of public-interest law, schools devoted to social change, peace and non-violence, etc.

52. Greens decry the pervasive "publish or perish" dynamic that forces teachers to neglect their teaching. Continued employment must be offered equally readily to top notch teachers and to expert researchers and writers.

53. All too often college and university professors have little or no training in pedagogy. Greens favor such training for all faculty members at schools that receive public funding or tax breaks.

54. Greens decry the absurd notion that a system of higher (or any kind of) education, can be "value-neutral." We call for students and teachers everywhere to critically examine the subtle yet pervasive biases such as materialism, consumerism, reductionism, sexism, racism, deferral to "experts," acceptance of hierarchy, etc., built into their educational systems.

55. Greens insist that no higher education program, whether in the social or so-called "hard" sciences, can be complete if it fails to provide students a thorough grounding in alternative and appropriate technologies and policies, such as those espoused in the various sections of this document.

Educating Society

56. Beyond the schools, Greens educate through concrete proj-

ects and actions of Green groups and by the personal example we provide in living Green principles. Green party campaigns bring our message to wider publics.

57. Greens must recognize the tremendous educational power of existing and emerging communication and computer technologies, for good or ill. We need to monitor and use the media to convey the Green message through every possible way.

58. Internal education of Greens should be a regular part of Green meeting and forums, so we can be clear about what unites us as well as what divides us. It also helps new members and friends to learn what we are about.



Energy

Our global ecological crisis is a direct result of an energy-use lifestyle based upon the consumption of non-renewable fossil fuels and nuclear power.

The form of society through which the common individual must consume this energy is not simply one of personal choice. Rather, it is substantially dictated from above by governmental and corporate interests that profit from it.

If we do not alter our energy use soon and drastically, the ecological crisis may be exacerbated past a point where we can resolve it.

This urgency is not communicated to us. Indeed, it is often hidden from us, because a system that would satisfy the energy needs of the world's citizenry while ensuring ecological health and balance would deprive the powers that be of their control and profit.

General Energy Policy

1) Create new and redesign existing human environments to be as energy-efficient as possible. Energy-efficiency means first

a) determining what our needs truly are (a shift away from a planned-obsolescence, disposable society), and then

b) meeting those needs with greater efficiency.

2) As demand declines, phase out the most ecologically harmful sources of energy;

3) Simultaneously, plan to fulfill the remaining energy needs with solar and other renewable technologies (wind, small hydro, hydrogen, etc.)

General Strategy

1) Eliminate subsidies, tax benefits, and research funding to nuclear and other non-renewable energy corporations and utilities, as well as to energy-wasting industries such as the virgin-paper, mining, cattle grazing, agribusiness, and airline industries.

Examine the pace at which subsidies are eliminated on a case-by-case basis so that desirable ecological practices are not lost in the transition before they have an opportunity to establish themselves.

2) Establish a "true cost pricing" policy, where the price of a product or service reflects its true environmental cost. These costs



would include the ecological damage caused during the procurement of raw materials (oil spills, strip mining); the problems created during the performance of a service or use of a product (auto pollution, soil erosion from agribusiness); the cost of disposing, recycling, or otherwise neutralizing a product or service's residue (landfills, toxic wastes); and the physical deterioration that comes from living in the world of stress and pollution that these practices create.

3) Enact regulatory measures.

4) Partially subsidize the rebuilding of certain infrastructures along more ecologically sustainable lines, so that the cost of transition is born partly by society. Examples here include subsidies to public transportation, energy conservation, renewable energy research and development, and to small-scale organic agriculture. This funding could be directed away from presently subsidized unecological practices, such as the nuclear industry.

Nuclear Power Strategy

The Greens call for a complete phase-out of nuclear power beginning immediately. However, we recognize that the federal government and the nuclear industry are in the process of pushing for a new generation of nuclear reactor construction in the U.S. Therefore it is critical that the Greens help the anti-nuclear community with the following goals:

1. Oppose the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's one step licensing process for new reactors

2. Reverse massive federal funding for design and development of new reactors, much of which is being tested by the military and the Department of Energy

3. Stop plans to deregulate nuclear waste so that it can be dumped by the nuclear industry into our air, water and soils, or recycled back into consumer products

The Greens promise to invoke the following changes upon U.S. nuclear policy:

1. Repeal of the 1954 Atomic Energy Act

2. Repeal of the Price-Anderson Act

3. Elimination of all nuclear subsidies. Primary scientific investigations would be limited to reversal of the worldwide increases in background radiation caused by human technology, and the study of benign forms of ionizing radiation

4. Cleanup of all nuclear waste sites, including mill tailings sites

5. Cancellation of the DOE's geological high level waste repository program, and replacement with surface monitored storage (not under military jurisdiction) until full consensus on long term solutions is reached

6. Repeal of the federal Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982

7. Removal of all economic trade-offs when establishing environmental safety levels

8. Cancellation of the SP-100 program for nuclear reactors in space

9. Dismantlement of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and its goal of promoting nuclear energy, to be replaced by a civilian nuclear decommissioning board charged with the rapid phase out of nuclear power nationwide

10. Creation of a Conversion Commission for the re-training of nuclear engineers into other specialty areas such as solar energy, least cost energy planning and urban redesign

11. Creation of independent, public access radiation monitoring networks at all commercial and military nuclear facilities

12. Restructuring of all national radiation safety bodies, removing the nuclear industry's biased monopoly of control

13. We oppose the Nuclear Regulatory Commission's deregulation of nuclear waste as expressed by its new definition of Below Regulatory Waste

14. Cancel the use of irradiation of food products and the safe decommissioning of production facilities

15. End the nuclear medicine establishment's overuse of radioactive isotopes in its investigatory and treatment processes; end unregulated disposal of human nuclear waste

General Transportation Policy

1) We call for a phase-out of gasoline and other fossil fuels beginning immediately. As steps towards this,

a) Raise the average miles per gallon requirement for new vehicles in a graduated manner to reach 60 mpg for cars and 45 mpg for light trucks by 2010

b) Once a high miles per gallon standard is set, establish substantial 'gas guzzler' tax increases when purchasing autos that get a lower mpg and 'gas sipper' rebates for those that get higher. Variable yearly registration fees reflecting fuel efficiency is another way to incorporate this concept

c) Once a high miles per gallon standard is set, meet the remaining needs with the least environmentally damaging renewable fuels that are decentrally produced, controlled, and distributed.

d) We firmly oppose the our nation's singular focus upon natural gas as a motor fuel source because natural-gas generated methanol is not renewable; because a commitment to it would delay and make more expensive (economically and environmentally) the transition to renewables; because it would continue to exacerbate the Greenhouse effect; and because it would at the same time further the oligarchical control of our energy resources.

e) Raise the gas tax in a graduated yet significant manner over several years

f) Direct additional funds generated from the gas tax

1.) into public transit development and

2.) research and development of alternative fuels (for both private and public transit) such as solar electric, solar hydrogen, and diverse forms of biomass, as well as

g) Prioritize the use of these gas tax funds to mitigate the regressive nature of gas taxes for low income drivers

h) To make public transit more convenient and financially attractive:

1) Reexamine zoning laws that separate jobs and housing so that mixed-use development and redevelopment can begin to decrease our need to travel long distances for work, play, food, and other basic necessities.

2) Mixed-use development must at the same time be accomplished in conjunction with public transit development, so that public transit stations can provide ready access to and from population, business, commercial, and entertainment centers

3) Require the rail industry to protect potential urban (and interurban) rights-of-way for first consideration for public use.

4) Allocate a portion of increased gas tax revenues be put aside in order to finance purchasing rights-of-way and developing the



ensuing rail lines.

5) Replacing some lanes along existing congested transit corridors with High Occupancy Vehicle (HOV) lanes should be explored

6) Establish disincentives for private auto use such as the elimination of free parking for those areas (other than residential) that are well-served by public transit.

7) Encourage carpooling through the establishment of variable tolls and parking fees based upon the number of passengers per vehicle.

i) Require businesses of 100 or more employees to achieve a base ridership per vehicle (for example 1.5-2.5) for their employees; and, to encourage this, subsidize (through gas tax revenue) the purchase by businesses of solar electric and other environmentally benign fueled vans for the use of their employees.

j) Recognizing that the trucking industry does not pay its true cost

1) Establish miles per gallon standards for heavy trucks

2) Establish gas guzzler taxes for heavy trucks that do not meet this standard and gas sipper taxes for those that do

3) Raise the gas tax on diesel fuel

k) Eliminate the subsidization of airlines and airports

l) Encourage bicycle use as an alternative means of transportation by methods such as

1) creating separate bike lanes

2) free bicycle carriage on public transit

3) providing bicycle storage lockers where appropriate

4) providing public showers where appropriate

Building Codes General Strategy

Increasing the efficiency of our buildings and technology can reduce energy demand to levels where solar and other environmentally more benign renewable fuels can replace fossil fuels. By implementing a true cost pricing system that assigns the environmental cost of burning fossil fuels like oil, gas, and coal to their purchase price, the shift to renewables can be made cost effective.

1) Require high energy efficiency levels in new construction; reward super-efficiency with tax rebates

2) Encourage energy-efficiency retrofitting of existing structures through true-cost pricing mechanism; levy energy guzzler/energy sipper tax on existing structures at point of resale

3) Require new construction to achieve 1/4-1/2 of its heating energy from the sun. Require that variances be sought to demonstrate why solar technology ought not to be used.

4) Establish high energy-efficiency standards for lighting and home appliances; establish energy guzzler/energy sipper tax schedules corresponding to this rate

5) Require the use of solar and other renewable fuel technologies in the construction and retrofitting of government buildings

6) Accelerate the use of cogeneration in industrial practices through the implementation of true cost pricing mechanisms

Off-shore Oil Drilling and Exploration

We oppose any further development of our nation's Outer Continental Shelf for oil drilling or exploration.

We are in favor of H.R. 3751, The Ocean Protection Act of 1990, Barbara Boxer (D-Marin)

Foreign Policy

We strongly advocate that a fundamental tenet of American foreign policy be both to export and promote the domestic production of renewable energy technologies

Hydroelectric Power

Given the ecological consequences of large scale hydroelectric power, we do not recommend any more development of this industry.

Greenhouse Effect Response Strategy

The United States must begin by reducing its CO2 emissions by 35% by the year 2005

From an energy policy standpoint, the best way to accomplish this is the strategy advocated in this document—conservation, efficiency, and a swift and dramatic shift to renewable fuels. Hand in hand with our domestic shift must also be a drastic increase in foreign aid of renewable technologies to Eastern Europe and the Third World.

Other practices that, while not specifically energy policies, are nevertheless fundamental



tal in addressing the Greenhouse Effect include:

a) halting extensive deforestation, legislating sustainable forestry practices, and promoting reforestation

b) immediately banning all CFC's, HCFC's, and other related greenhouse gases and ozone-depleting substances where any safe and environmentally acceptable alternative exists

c) slowing and ultimately stabilizing population growth

Community Control of Electric Utilities

Because electricity is an essential community resource, the Greens support the growing movement for public power. Legislation enacted at the state level can provide for decentralized, public ownership, and democratic control of the nation's energy system, emphasizing integrated least-cost planning.

1) Existing public power systems need to be democratized and integrated into public utility districts (PUDs).

2) The PUDs must also be authorized to issue tax exempt bonds to finance conservation, energy efficiency, and renewable energy projects.

3) Restrictions on the use of tax-exempt bonds to acquire private utility property must be repealed at the federal level.





Food & Agriculture

Agriculture and the entire food system must be transformed so that they truly meet basic human needs and generate the means which are regenerative, active forces in healing the earth. [Opening sentence has been referred back to style committee—not a policy statement.]

1. Ecologically-based Sustainable Agriculture

The Green Program calls for an ecologically-based sustainable agricultural system that moves as rapidly as possible towards regional/bioregional self-reliance. Permaculture and natural farming methods including permanent crops need to be advanced and factory methods halted. Greens call for halting of all uses of pesticide poisons and the phasing out of artificial fertilizers.

2. Resource Conservation

The Green Program calls for the promotion of soil conservation and regeneration as one of our nation's top priorities. Greens call for the elimination of all subsidies for the use of water in agriculture, including tax allowances for water use, to enable the conservation of water resources. The export of logs needs to be banned, out of concern for U.S. employment and self-reliance. We need to initiate a nationwide conservation program of paper products, including restrictions on consumer packaging and advertisement. We need to fund research to develop alternatives to fossil-fuel-based fertilizers—alternatives that will regenerate the soil.

3. Agrarian Reform Policies

Greens call for policies that provide economic incentives to agricultural producers to the extent they are fully motivated to enhance the long-term health of the soil. We need to change farm programs and tax and fiscal policies that presently place small and family farms in a disadvantaged position, compared to that of large corporate farms. Greens support research in the areas of appropriate technology, sustainable agriculture and permaculture. We oppose patenting of all life forms, whether developed by gene-splicing techniques, selective breeding, or other methods. Greens promote policies that limit the amount of agricultural land which can be owned or controlled by any given person, corporation, governmental entity, or organization, ideally resulting in land availability for present agricultural and other workers. Such workers meanwhile have the right to fair wages and decent working conditions—especially protection from the hazards of working with agricultural chemicals. We promote policies that advance community and family organic gardens as a top Green priority. We call for acceleration of the process of setting "organic certification standards."

4. Resettlement/Redesign of Rural Communities

Greens advocate the following policies and incentives for the voluntary resettlement from densely populated areas to smaller communities in rural areas, through programs which incorporate the following: a) helping people to live in harmony with their

ecosystems; b) ecological methods of food production for household use; c) non-exploitative land tenure practices which insure social justice and preserve natural or wilderness areas; d) communities planned for diverse work opportunities that reflect the economic approaches of both local self-reliance and world interdependence; e) development of renewable, more accessible energy sources.

5. Regionalization/Localization of the Food System

Greens advocate regionalizing our food system to the extent that regions/bioregions become to a considerable degree self-reliant in food production. We advance the following policies: a) as a long-term goal, phase out the import of agricultural products which can be produced in this country; concomitantly, enable exporting countries to increase their self-sufficiency; b) initiate steps to end ownership and/or control of agricultural lands, as well as production, distribution, or marketing operations by corporations based—or with substantial holdings located—outside the state or region where the production takes place; c) initiate steps to form food producer associations and cooperatives within regions, and to form economic development organizations that advance the manufacture of value-added products within regions. Greens call for policies that will add in the true environmental and social costs, presently hidden, of producing food by conventional, chemical-intensive agriculture—thereby resulting in competitive prices for safe, organically-produced foods.

6. Green Lifestyle

Greens promote lifestyle changes that counter the addiction to consumption patterns of food, energy, and material things that are beyond the carrying capacity of the Earth and are grossly unjust to the other peoples of the world. We need to change our diets and patterns of food purchases to reflect the approach of self-reliance both in our own country and in other lands. We must promote attitudes that will not sanction the exploitation of the Earth nor of peoples throughout the world.

7. Education

We promote eating lower on the food chain, cutting back on exotic foods, giving preference to regionally produced organic foods grown on biologically balanced soils, and confronting the health, ethical, environmental, and economic factors of meat and dairy-based diets. Greens call for policies that will require land grant universities to be more fully engaged in research in sustainable, organic, ecologically-balanced agriculture. Greens advocate comprehensive public educational measures that will advance an organic, regional, and more self-reliant food system.

8. Global Responsibility

Greens call for the end of exportation, under any circumstances, of chemicals prohibited and/or unregistered in the U.S. We advocate an end to all loan programs to promote capital-intensive, high-tech/highly mechanized, chemical agriculture. We call for a ban on agricultural products imported by any company or government which have a detrimental effect on ecosystems or exploit indigenous or other workers in their production and distribution. We call for the repeal of U.S. legislation that encourages maximum exports of farm products to pay for foreign-produced goods. We seek international agreements to stabilize commodity prices based on



ecologically-based, sustainable yields, ensuring that Third World and developing countries are provided the opportunity to participate in trade. Greens call for the restructuring of the World Bank and other financial institutions to serve ecological development and subsistence food needs of the Third World instead of cash crops for export. Greens support the policy of providing and transporting foods in emergency situations to starving peoples wherever they are located, while we support the development of community-based sustainable agriculture in those countries.

9. Biotechnology

Greens call for a reconsideration of the effects, potentially far-reaching and unforeseen, resulting from hybridization and especially gene-splicing/recombinant DNA in agriculture/food systems. Greens support efforts to enhance and maintain species diversity.

10. Legislative Moratorium

We call for a moratorium on the use of agricultural genetic engineering while this evaluation is taking place.



Forestry

Global Concerns

- 1) Stop all current international funding policies that promote destruction of forest ecosystems. (98%)
- 2) There should be proper financial aid, land redistribution, and promotion and distribution of self sufficient/self reliant technologies to people adversely affected by deforestation and resource extraction for export. (95%)
- 3) An end to the trade in endangered hardwoods and other endangered lifeforms. All possible non violent methods should be used to end this trade. (98%)
- 4) There should be widescale conservation and reforestation coordination by international agencies with implementation by local people. (98%)
- 5) Indigenous people (as opposed to other people) must be allowed to maintain control over the ecosystems from which they derive their livelihood and subsistence. (97%)
- 6) Retraining for all workers in forestry and forest related industries adversely effected by the shift to sustainable forest practices must be provided. (97%)

Local, Regional and National Concerns

- 7) End below-cost timber sales and all other forms of subsidy for the forest products industry on public lands. (98%)
- 8) End corporate take-overs in the forest products industry. (97%)
- 9) There should be public campaigns and laws to promote recycling and conservation. (97%)
- 10) Promote alternatives to wood pulp, including hemp. (92%)

- 11) Promote and mandate ecologically sustainable forest practices through the activities of governmental agencies and tax policies. (95%)
- 12) End clearcutting. (94%)
- 13) Drastically reduce road building on public lands and phase out all but essential roads. (97%)
- 14) Protect all designated wilderness areas, and where possible, expand them. (97%)
- 15) End all cutting in ancient forests and other significant native forests. (98%)
- 16) Eliminate the use of all pesticides and herbicides. (92%)
- 17) Eliminate monoculture timber farms. (94%)
- 18) All reforestation activities should mimic the natural diversity and ecology of the forest. (95%)
- 19) End the export of raw logs. (97%)
- 20) Public funding and facilities should be used to retrain and help place all forestry and forest related workers who lose their jobs due to the shift to ecologically sound and sustainable forest practices. (97%)



Health & Healing

1. Organization

We support recommendations for a national health care program for all regardless of ability to pay.

We prefer a decentralized model for health care services under the national program, having local accountability and community participation.

2. Financing

We support recommendations for a national health care program for all, regardless of ability to pay.

Such a program should be funded by general tax revenues and specific taxes imposed on unhealthy practices, i.e. tobacco and alcohol consumption.

The national health care program must include restrictions to contain the cost of care. These restrictions should be adopted at the state level, within federal guidelines.

Health care consumers and providers should be involved in state-level decisions about the allocation of health care resources.

3. Health Care Personnel

We support the implementation of training programs for clinicians and researchers, emphasizing a collaborative and holistic approach to healing.

We call for equitable pay and fringe benefits for health care workers.

We call for more programs aimed at recruiting members of under-represented ethnic groups into health professions.

We encourage practitioners to work in communities that are currently underserved.



4. Assuring Access to Health Care

All employers should provide workers with reasonable amounts of leave time to enable them to obtain needed health care for themselves and family members/loved ones.

We call for the inclusion of home health services to assist persons in meeting their health needs and allowing them to remain in their own homes.

5. Range of Available Services

We support the teaching of holistic health approaches and healthy lifestyles with emphasis on prevention of disease, rather than suppression of symptoms.

We support the use of complementary therapies, e.g., herbal medicines, massage and hypnosis in health care practices.

We encourage the inclusion of nurse practitioners, physician assistants, nurse midwives, and alternative health care practitioners in the national health care program.

Comprehensive health education should be offered to all in schools and community centers. Sex education, AIDS prevention and substance abuse education should be included.

We support the integration of traditional healing practices into community health programs, particularly those that serve significant ethnic populations.

We encourage the use of self-help and mutual-aid support groups as adjuncts to medical care.

6. Assuring Quality of Care

We recommend that all health care agencies have closely monitored quality care programs, which include input from the community.

7. Ethical Issues

We encourage public education and participation in discussion and decisions about ethical issues related to health.

8. Research Directions and Subjects

Alternatives to animal research should be supported and funded.

We call for allocation of research funding to ensure gender balance, and cultural diversity of subjects.

We support increased levels of funding for clinical AIDS research.

9. Appropriate Use of Technology

We prefer that health care resources be invested in low-technology interventions that serve large numbers of people, rather than in high technology, which is expensive, limited in accessibility, and often productive of hazardous waste.

We prefer to avoid the use of technology to save lives, without regard to the quality of life being saved.

10. Attitudes Toward Birth, Aging and Death

We recognize birth, aging and death as natural processes that we share with other animals on the planet. We support counseling services regarding birth, aging and death.

We call for wider implementation of natural childbirth options, including the use of trained midwives, and births at home. We encourage breastfeeding of infants.

We call for the wider implementation of hospice and other community-based programs that specialize in care for the dying.

We encourage the participation of family members and friends

in the processes of birth and dying, and support family leave policies that make such participation more feasible.

We encourage the use of living wills to ensure that all people have the right to make decisions about their deaths.

11. Occupational Health and Safety

We support the rights of workers in all occupations to safe work sites, and protection from potentially damaging work activities.

We support the presence of independent clinics to oversee work sites to assure that these rights are being adequately addressed. Strong criminal penalties should be levied for violations.

Right-to-know laws should be properly observed in work places where potentially-hazardous substances or processes are used. In addition, we support legislation protecting workers' rights to expose public health and safety hazards without retaliation.

12. Exposure to Toxins and Environmental Pollution

We want health practitioners to maintain records on allergies, and other medical conditions that may be related to toxic exposures among their patients.

We call for strict limitations in the use, if not outright banning, of toxins and environmental pollutants known to be harmful to humans and other life forms.

13. Use of Pharmaceuticals

We encourage practitioners to consult with consumers and explore alternatives to the use of pharmaceuticals.

We call for an expanded availability of unprocessed herbal medicines and the wide dissemination of information on their proper use. We prefer to leave decisions about use of herbal medicines in the hands of the individual.

14. Assuring the Rights of Special Groups

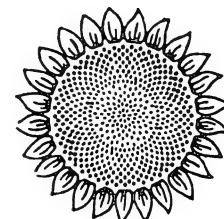
We call for adequate social and health services for those who are mentally ill, differently-abled, addicted, and those afflicted with AIDS, and an assurance that their rights as individuals will be honored.

Inpatient and outpatient care for severe or chronic mental illness, physical and developmental disabilities, addictions and AIDS should be covered under the national health care program. These individuals should be involved in formulating and implementing their treatment plans to the greatest possible extent.

15. Reproductive Rights and Family Planning

We support research in contraceptive technologies, including natural family planning, with the goal of finding methods of birth control for both men and women that are safe, inexpensive and easy to use. These contraceptive aids should be made widely available to all people with appropriate guidance in their use.

We believe the right of a woman to control her own body is inalienable. The decision whether or not to bring a pregnancy to term is the woman's alone to make. To this end, we also believe it is essential that the option of a safe, legal abortion remains available to all women.





Indigenous People

Native Americans

1. Greens recognize that Native American land and treaty rights a) represent agreements between nations which have international legal standing and cannot be changed without the consent of both nations involved; b) embody the wisdom of elders who negotiated the treaties and are, most often, a modern expression of ecological culture and tradition that we all wish to preserve; c) are just human rights that Greens support and seek to maintain; and d) are also a focal point of racial backlash which represents a real threat to the lives of Native Americans and must be stopped.

2. We oppose all efforts by Congress, the President or other political forces to abrogate treaties. Greens stand in full support of Native American land and treaty rights.

3. Greens recognize that Native American land and treaty rights often stand at the frontline against government and multi-national corporate attempts to plunder energy, mineral, timber, fish and game resources, and pollute water, air and land, in the service of greed and mindless economic expansion/consumption. For this reason, Greens fully support legal, political and grassroots efforts of Native Americans to protect their rights, their livelihoods, their sacred spaces, their tribal sovereignty, and the precious living resources of mother earth.

4. Greens strongly oppose efforts to relocate the Dine (Navajo) from the joint use area. We call for the repeal of PL93-531 and an end to the daily harassment of people and their property in the joint use area.

5. Greens also support efforts of Native American nations to establish and maintain community controlled, sustainable economic enterprises. Greens recognize that government welfare programs and private gambling operations have been imposed on Native nations and Greens support self chosen efforts by Native peoples to move away from these economic strategies

6. Greens support the renewal of Native American traditional cultures and practices which embody a wealth of spiritual and ecological teachings for living on this land. This means Greens adopt a stance of respectful learning about Native American cultures, (or towards any other culture not our own) not taking or claiming other cultures' practices, but reclaiming our own many and rich cultural traditions, rituals and stories.

7. Greens are committed to building a truly multi-racial organization and movement with both the perspectives and leadership of people of color at all levels of Green organizing.

8. Statement of support for the Mohawk nation at Oka

The Greens call upon all peoples of conscience to pressure the Canadian government to

A) Withdraw their troops from Mohawk Territory;

B) To honor Native rights in Canada;

C) To begin serious talks in resolving Native claims, based on sovereignty of Native people.

ACTION

* Join the peace presence outside Oka, Quebec. Contact Mohawk Nation, via Box 6454, Kahnawake, Que, Canada KOL 1B0. Tel (514) 638 4750. FAX (514) 638 6700/638 1802

* Do local supportive actions:

Contact your U.S. Congressional Delegation.

Boycott Canada.

Vigils.

Protests outside Canadian offices in U.S.

9. 500 YEARS OF RESISTANCE AND DIGNITY

Greens acknowledge that we all live on land conquered by Europeans and that we all need to begin to heal the pain and grief of the last 500 years of domination and exploitation in the Amerrikua's (the Mayan word for our hemisphere's two continents, meaning "land of the winds"). In order to counteract the official celebration of Columbus' "discovery" of America, we Greens publicly support efforts to tell the true story of Columbus and to honor the 500 years of resistance to that legacy, and also to honor our cultures and traditions that exemplify right living with Mother Earth on our continent.

This occasion also provides a unique opportunity for Greens to build the multi-racial alliances our movement and our country needs. We therefore resolve to join with efforts emerging from indigenous people on these continents (e.g., Elders meeting in N.Y., Condor-Eagle meeting in Ecuador) around the "500 Years of Resistance..." We further encourage local Green groups to work with organizations in their local areas, particularly people of color, in support of the "500 Years of Resistance and Dignity."



Internal Organizing

Restructuring the Green Committees of Correspondence

A Joint Report of the Internal Organizing SPAKA Working Group and the Restructuring Working Group

September 14, 1990 Boulder, Colorado

Through a succession of meetings at this gathering we have integrated a number of proposals which we now submit for your approval.

We propose that a committee take all previous proposals for restructuring the GCoC, call for new proposals, put it all together with input from the locals, and submit the final result for a referendum to the membership and locals of the Greens. We propose that this all be done by spring of 1991.

The committee would be composed of twelve members, elected at large on Sunday by the delegates to Green Gathering 1990. A written straw poll would be submitted to the delegates to determine



their positions on various restructuring issues, to guide the committee.

Nominations for the committee and proposed restructuring policies for the straw poll would be submitted in writing to Green Tidings by Saturday night. Proposed restructuring policies should follow the brief form used by the Restructuring Working Group in the Thursday (9/14/90) Green Tidings. Nominations should be accepted prior to the vote by the nominees, and should include 1) name; 2) background, skills, and interest in restructuring; 3) region; 4) gender; and 5) ethnic heritage.

This information would be collated into ballots. Each delegate and proxy would vote for ten (five men and five women; each delegate's choices should also reflect regional and racial diversity). The ten people with the most votes would be the committee. The committee would select two members to be its coordinators, and two ex-officio members, one from Green Fund and one lawyer for advice on legal and financial issues.

The time commitment would be substantial. Committee members should plan on intimately familiarizing themselves with all previous restructuring proposals, the debates of the Ann Arbor-initiated restructuring process, numerous responses from locals, and source materials on legal and financial issues, as well as a four-day marathon session in mid-November to pull it all together.

In the case of substantive political differences, the committee would send out materials to all of the members of the GCoCs with the various options stated, both for comment and ultimately for vote if the differences remain irreconcilable.

After the referendum, the Interregional Committee would again meet to assess the results and, contingent on the referendum's outcome, initiate any new structures or policies ratified by the members and locals of the GCoCs. A successful transformation of the GCoCs would certainly be cause for celebration at this gathering.

We propose that the locals be assessed for part of the costs of this venture. Assessment formulas have not yet been worked out, but possibly assessments should reflect group size. Waivers of the assessment is to be granted to locals that formally request one. Groups which neither pay assessments nor request a waiver will be ineligible to participate in the restructuring process.

Other money needs to be raised for this venture. We do not yet have a process by which to do this.

Approximate timeline:

September 30: Proposals generated by the Ann Arbor process are sent to Green Letter/Greener Times for publication. Survey and fundraising letter are sent out.

September 30-November 15: Information is collected: survey responses, source materials, restructuring documents. Intensive, professional-quality followup by phone and mail is used to ensure that all possible responses are received.

November 15: Information packets are sent to committee members.

November 27-Dec 2: Committee meets in either Kansas City or Chicago to compose initial draft.

December 15: First draft is sent out via the IC Bulletin and Green Synthesis (pending confirmation by the Green Synthesis collective); responses are solicited from locals and individuals with

followup.

January 30: Committee coordinators consult committee members and decide how responses are to be incorporated.

February 15: Referendum is sent out, again with phone and mail followup.

March 30: Deadline for referendum responses. 75% approval of those responding required for passage.

Early April: Interregional Committee meets.



Land Use

All land use policies, plans and practices should be based upon the following:

1. Sustainable development and production; (95%)
2. The reduce-reuse-recycle ethic; (96%)
3. The encouragement of a balance between optimum and diverse use of land, recognizing the natural character of the land (e.g., fertile soil, wetland, aquifer recharge area, critical habitat); (96%)
4. The intrinsic value of Nature in and of itself, independent of any worth to humanity; (91%)
5. The assurance of social justice in the formation and implementation of land use policy. (97%)

PRINCIPLES OF A GREEN RELATIONSHIP TO THE LAND POLICY

[Note: the order in which these principles are listed does not imply an order of importance.]

1. Require that all planning and implementation of land use policy at all levels — local, regional and multi-regional — occur through democratic, participatory public processes. (97%)
2. Encourage the social ownership and use of land at the community, local and regional level, particularly in the form of community and conservation land trusts, under covenants of ecological responsibility. (92%)
3. Affirm the practice of individuals to hold title to land under covenants of ecological responsibility. (92%)
4. Retain the wealth in land created by the community for the support of the community (the socially-generated unearned increment), while recognizing the legitimate right of individuals to retain the wealth in land created by the direct labor investment (the individually-generated earned increment). (91%)
5. Strongly discourage and eventually eliminate land speculation (i. e. the purchase of land to sell in the future for profit at the expense of the community or the environment). (97%)
6. Develop land use policy that addresses and recognizes the diversity of human needs within individual locales (ie, the need for places for living, working, recreating, worshipping, shopping, and the enjoyment of natural areas and open spaces). Such policy needs to acknowledge the diversity of human needs for commodities such as housing, and to accommodate them within planned policy. New



development must be limited to that required to provide for vital human needs. (86%)

7. Design/redesign human habitats so that they are built with energy efficiency in mind, on a human scale, with integrated land uses. Such integrated land uses should provide for example, ready access between home and work, a local supply of food, ready access to natural areas, and a deemphasis on individualized motorized transport. (95%)

Human habitats should be connected to each other by a system of ecologically responsible mass transit. (95%)

Land and community development should encourage less alienating styles of architecture which are compatible with human, social, and environmental values (i.e. Green values). (94%)

8. Assure nondestructive public access to special public and private recreational and appropriate ecological sites and areas, for example coastal areas and selected wilderness areas. (95%)

9. Encourage and facilitate responsible and responsive bioregional control of land use policy, with a guiding principle of think globally, act locally. Such local control should result in appropriately optimal and diverse land use relationships, where, for example, unique ecological and productive lands were not used for incompatible purposes. (95%)

10. Acknowledge the need for continuous multi-local (i.e. regional), and multi-regional coordination in the planning and implementation of land use policy. (95%)

11. Preserve pristine wilderness areas, and return nearly pristine areas to original state; while allowing nondestructive public access (e.g. hiking). (98%)

12. A particular land use activity should not adversely affect adjacent land (e.g. mining operations cannot be allowed to cause water pollution, timber cutting cannot be allowed to cause soil erosion). The regional long-term environmental and social impacts of any resource extractions should be minimized, and the land restored to a healthy ecological state. Prioritize the immediate restoration of existing lands that were adversely affected by corporate and community activity in the past. (98%)

13. Promote the preservation and extension of wildlife habitat and biological diversity by creating and preserving large continuous tracts of open space (i.e. complete ecosystems), so as to permit healthy, self-managing wildlife populations to exist in a natural state. (98%)



Peace & Nonviolence

INTRODUCTION

Green politics challenge direct and structural violence of all kinds: assaults against individuals, the family, the environment, the society and the biosphere. (98%)

We proceed from the basic assumptions that:

All life is interconnected — what we do to others we do to ourselves (97%)

Means and ends are inseparable (95%)

Nonviolent means are always preferable to violent ones. (97%)

The "first world" has the most control over the means of violence; we have a special responsibility to work with the world community to overcome the conditions which promote violence. (91%)

Militarism and patriarchy perpetuate violence, the former by the proliferation of nuclear, chemical, biological and conventional weapons, the latter by systematic violence against men, women, children, disenfranchised people, and all life forms. (95%)

Violence is more than the destruction of life. It includes the use of threat and fear, which bar people from equal access to land, food, meaningful work, a healthful environment, health resources, justice and education. (93%)

Violence can also be defined as ethnic, religious, cultural, age or gender relationships which are oppressive. The social causes of violence in our society must be fully addressed. (95%)

Greens recognize that peace has global, societal, and personal aspects, and that each of these must be addressed from the point of view of preventing war, containing conflict when it occurs, and defending against aggression. (98%)

We believe that the concept of national security must be re-examined to include health, education, economics, and the health of the natural environment, rather than the present focus upon military hardware. (98%)

U.S. GREENS CALL FOR:

- Demilitarization and rebudgeting for conversion to socially useful production. (95%)

We support a 75% reduction in the military budget, creating a Peace Dividend to be used for worker retraining, social services, health care and education, reduction of the debt and deficit, an environmental trust fund, and repairs to the infrastructure. (91%)

We need to begin retooling our economic infrastructure away from its dependence upon military production. (98%)

- The worldwide elimination of all nuclear weapons (space, land, and sea) and the end of production and research (98%)

- The elimination of all chemical and biological weapons and an end to their production and research (98%)

- The abolition of military and economic aggression, "low intensity warfare," covert operations, and all forms of life threatening, organized violence and oppression (98%)

- The abolition of arms markets and sales, domestic and abroad (96%)

- The elimination of all nuclear power plants, which constitute a crucial link in the nuclear fuel cycle necessary for weapons production (98%)

- The abolition of all forms of coerced national service (94%)

- The promotion of nonviolent civilian (or social) defense — being realistic, Greens support the concept of a minimal border defense (94%)

- The incorporation of nonviolent conflict resolution in courses and practice in all schools and government entities and the establishment of community mediation services (98%)

- Respect for all species and the rejection of actions or attitudes which cause unnecessary suffering to animals (98%)



- Support of United Nations efforts in conflict resolution and peacekeeping (95%)
- A wide-spread, well funded system of international student and worker exchanges (98%)



Politics

General Policy

Greens will work to restore democratic decentralization and restructure political institutions by

1. developing grassroots control of the administration of funds for human, economic and environmental justice.
2. working to prevent the preemption of state and local enactment and enforcement of more stringent protection for the health, safety and well-being of life and environment.
3. obtaining district elections for local municipalities, cities, and counties to further democratic decentralization and bring about neighborhood control.
4. examining and acting on personal, social and electoral opportunities at all levels. This includes living one's values in socially and ecologically responsible ways.
5. encouraging alternative, grassroots institutions and communities that can actualize participatory democracy and, when necessary create a popular counterpower to existing political institutions.
6. forming bioregional confederations to coordinate regional issues based on bioregional characteristics and boundaries instead of the traditional political ones.
7. realizing that, while the basis for power has to focus at the local level, there are issues that go beyond the scope of local politics, and that we must develop new kinds of open-ended confederations appropriate to the scale of the problem.

Green Parties and Independent Politics

8. The Greens must strictly maintain an independent political and electoral identity. The formation of Green parties at the local and state levels can be an important tool for achieving our goals. Green parties must grow out of, and be accountable to, their membership and the Green movement, and therefore must not compromise their explicit principles nor facilitate their co-optation by other parties.

9. Green parties should be based on a broad conception of politics that embraces electoral efforts, the development of alternative institutions, education for empowerment, non-violent direct action, and the incorporation of Green values in daily life.

10. Green Parties should be formed in alliance with social and political movements consistent with Green values.

11. A national Green Party, if and when formed, should evolve from state and local Green electoral efforts. This does not preclude the formation of Green Party working Groups on the state and national level.

Green Leadership

12. Greens believe that a new approach to leadership is required, in which candidates, elected representatives, campaign organizers, delegates, and spokespeople can maintain individual integrity while at the same time representing group programs.

13. By clearly defining standards of accountability, recognizing diverse forms of leadership, and identifying and resisting oppressive dynamics (sexism, racism, etc.), the Greens can transcend the traditional "leader over follower" model.

14. The Greens advocate a press/media which fulfills its mandate to serve and empower the people in their participation in the democratic process, rather than creating entertainment to boost its ratings. To help avoid manipulation, Greens must identify our own spokespersons for the press. (Otherwise the press will do it for us.)

15. We endorse the concept of representative pairs of teams of activists - preferably with a male/female balance - rather than placing the work of representation on a single individual.

Democratic Decentralization of the Greens

16. Green activists must remain strictly accountable to the policies and principles of the membership. However, the right to public dissent by members should be considered important.

Ballot Access

To advance the effective use of the electoral arena for the Greens, the following actions are recommended:

17. Institute binding initiative referendum mechanisms on the state, county and community level.
18. Demand equal access to public campaign financing for all parties.
19. Try to reduce the number of signatures required for party ballot status.
20. Eliminate provisions prohibiting local (county or district) parties.
21. Obtain District Elections and town/neighborhood councils or coalitions for local communities and cities.
22. Obtain Proportional Representation.
23. Obtain free, equal access to media for all parties.
24. Obtain citizen control of redistricting processes.
25. Through political campaigning at every level the Ten Key Values must be emphasized to demonstrate the Green basis for change.



Social Justice

1. Preamble

We have inherited a world in which the future of life itself is in question. After almost 500 years of exploitation and oppression on this continent, we as Greens are offering an opportunity to restore a sense of harmony and sacredness to our land and peoples. We call upon the wisdom of our elders, on the Native Americans who first



walked here and on the women and men who over the centuries worked for values rooted in respect for nature, diversity, cooperation and gentleness. (92%)

Our children are facing a culture which teaches them that everything is to be sold, used, abused and disposed of. They are taught by this culture that progress means the destruction of sacred lands for mining, increased risks of cancer and birth defects for those living near toxic dumps and trash burners, and to accept growing up without meaningful work or security. They are coming to believe that their future can be separated from the fate of the earth. (88%)

To create a way of living worth passing on, we must transform the institutions and values of the dominant life-denying culture. The society Greens are creating sees an intimate connection between our rights as individuals and our responsibilities to our neighbors, our community and the earth. The balance between our rights and responsibilities grows out of processes which promote the maximum participation of everyone in the decisions that affect our well being, our economic security, our social and international policies and how we live our lives. Through our concrete work, our projects, programs, activities, events and actions, Greens are committed to establishing relationships that honor diversity, that support the self definition and self determination of people, that consciously confront the barriers of racism, sexism, heterosexism, class oppression, ageism, ablebodiedism and the many ways our culture separates us from working together to define and solve the common dangers we face. (92%)

Our vision of the future grows from an honest look at the past. As Greens we will no longer evade looking at the pain and destruction the dominant culture has created. Each of us, claiming our own power, our own legacy of struggle, our own responsibility, can choose to participate in restoring our dignity and shaping a new future. (93%)

2. International Responsibility

Support for and endorsement of UN Conventions, when consistent with Green values. (94%)

Support for and recognition of authority of International Law and the World Court. (92%)

Creation of a process for the renegotiation of Treaty Rights and responsibilities with Native Americans (91%)

Support for and endorsement of Regional Bodies as having primary responsibilities for assisting in problem solving. (92%)

Disbanding of CIA and all covert operations agencies within the US government. (93%)

Cancellation of Third World Debt. (Send this issue to the Committee on Economics with the recommendation that they develop it with a Green vision in the context of the new international economic order of the non-aligned movement.) (83%)

Cancellation of all military and economic aid to governments guilty of human rights violations. (91%)

3. Support for all just struggles for self-determination and human rights. (86%)

4. Commitment to Fundamental Human Needs

Support for fundamental needs including food, clothes and shelter. (95%)

Funding for the development of the arts and artists from community to national level. (89%)

Creation of public arts and works programs for rebuilding of our cities and restoration of our countryside. (92%)

Development of child care centers, available and accessible to all children and based on Green values. (95%)

Provision of secure livable income for all. (See Economics for specifics.) (94%)

Provision of National Health Care Systems, honoring all forms of healing arts and sciences. (See Health and Healing.) (94%)

Creation of local, regional and national councils to address the crisis in education and to develop ways and means of enabling young people to develop themselves through the redevelopment of their communities. (94%)

Funding of international travel, education and development for adults and youth. (78%)

Provision of free public education as a lifelong right for all citizens. (91%)

Requirement that all large corporations give 1 year notice of intent to cease operations in any community. (96%)

Provision of low interest loans for all unemployed persons to initiate small business activities. (84%)

5. Racial Justice/Anti-Racism

The USA began with the invasion of the Western Hemisphere by Europeans. These colonialists brought with them a way of life forged by the dispossession of people in Europe from their land and traditions rooted in respect for the Earth. To amass wealth the ideology of racism was created justifying the genocide of Native Peoples, the enslavement of African Americans and the exploitation of Hispanics, Asians and other people of color around the globe. Throughout our history, race has been used politically, economically, socially and psychologically to justify and protect those with power and privilege. (91%)

Although all people of European descent have benefitted from racism, they have not all benefitted equally. Nor have they all participated equally in its perpetuation. Throughout our history there have always been some women and men of European descent who have also done anti-racist work. Our culture obscures their legacy, just as it reduces racism to attitudes of prejudice and acts of discrimination. Greens define racism as prejudice plus power. Power means that prejudice is systematically enforced by the distribution and use of resources and institutions and those who have access to them. (87%)

In recognition of the central role of racism in the creation of our country's government, social and economic systems and the use of race as a means of dividing and destroying progressive movements for fundamental change, Greens are actively anti-racist. We oppose institutional, interpersonal and cultural racism. We acknowledge that the environmental movements of the 1970s and 1980s often were unable to see that the most intense environmental degradation destroys the lives and communities of people of color. And we also acknowledge that these communities organize in resistance to this destruction. We actively seek their leadership and wisdom. (98%)

We support efforts by African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanics and Asian communities to take political control over



their lives by bringing decision making concerning politics, economics, and security to the community. (98%)

We support community based economies that are responsive to the needs and desires of neighborhoods through such means as land trusts, credit unions, reinvestment and neighborhood development. We advocate the creation of housing for all people, the establishment of a national health care system, national child care and protection, open education which respects cultural integrity and language diversity. (94%)

We call for the honoring of all treaties between the U.S. Government and Native Americans and stand in solidarity with the peoples of Big Mountain, White Earth and all areas where efforts are going on to protect sacred lands. (96%)

As Greens we especially challenge people of European ancestry to accept their responsibility to confront racism, to discover their own heritage of resistance, and to actively learn about cultures other than their own. (97%)

As we do these things we will be in the position to participate in a multi-cultural, multi-ethnic movement which draws upon our many cultural traditions to create a life-affirming society. (97%)

6. Development of arts and educational programs reflecting the cultural diversity of the country and the history of progressive struggles. (95%)

Funding for the creation of local cultural centers and historical museums to embrace diverse and unique traditions in every area. (95%)

Creation of a national language policy so that all citizens are encouraged to be fluent in at least two languages. (94%)

Strongly and actively oppose the public voicing of slurs, epithets or harassing remarks based on race, ethnicity, gender or sexual orientation; and also the ideology behind such actions. (95%)

7. Drugs

A national dialogue including all segments of the community and research into why Americans use more drugs than other cultures should be conducted. This could start with our obsessions with perfection, performance, possessions, money and power. (94%)

State and federal government should treat drug abuse, including alcoholism, as diseases or psychological disorders, instead of crimes. (97%)

Social renovation and self-help programs which seek to improve users' relationships to themselves and to society, thus reducing dependence on these substances, should be strongly encouraged. (97%)

The legalization of the use of and cultivation of marijuana for personal use by adults. (85%)

We strongly oppose those practices being perpetrated under the current 'war on drugs,' which do not address the core of the drug crisis, and are contributing to gross violations of human rights and civil liberties. (98%)

All forms of commercial advertising of alcohol and tobacco for consumption should be regulated. (89%)

We respect and reaffirm the right of Native Americans to use peyote and other traditional objects in religious ceremonies and join with other groups in calling for reconsideration of the United States Supreme Court's decision impinging on this religious free-

dom. (97%)

8. Gender Justice

8th statement: change word "women" to "females". (Support for education concerning the ramifications to females of controlling their fertility.) (91%)

11th statement: "Support for the right of women of all ages to full reproductive freedom and to determine the degree of technological intervention, including abortion, that they deem appropriate for their own care and protection, regardless of their ability to pay." (91%)

Housing Section:

Support the right to decent, affordable housing. (99%)

Funding and encouragement of democratically run institutions such as community economic development corporations, limited income cooperatives and neighborhood credit unions. (98%)

Encourage development of diverse neighborhoods through subsidies and cooperative ventures. (95%)

Population

Advocate family planning and birth control and support agencies that provide these. (96%)

Endorse ongoing dialogue about the implications of policies to guard against racist, sexist, or economic bias. (96%)



Spirituality

Introduction

Green spirituality is a way of being in the world that acknowledges and celebrates our connectedness to the Earth, to each other, and to all life. It is an attitude of love, compassion and humility that embraces diversity and respects new and old spiritual traditions. It is an evolving, flexible, reciprocal process of healing, a process that brings us to our center, back into balance with ourselves and our community.

Green spirituality seeks to restore balance through recognizing that our planet and all of life are unique aspects of an integrated whole, and through affirming the significant inherent value and contribution of each part of that whole.

Green spirituality empowers us within the political process. It energizes us to resist actions and institutions that harm the life-web or desecrate the Earth; it affirms us in supporting those that are truth-seeking and life-affirming. Green spirituality reminds us to consider the seventh generation yet unborn in everything we do.

Policy Statements

1. Greens support the freedom of all peoples to worship in the way that they choose.

2. Greens support individual and group spiritual communion and celebration.

3. Greens support actions which are life affirming and truth seeking.



4. Greens oppose actions which exploit the Earth and its peoples.
5. Greens support practices and policies which enhance the sense of interconnectedness (such as meditations, therapy, wilderness experience, art, and music)
6. Greens encourage the development of all aspects of our being: body, emotions, mind, and spirit.

Rationale

We are struggling for meaning and purpose in societies that reduce the Earth and its diverse living community to markets, commodities, and objects to be bought and sold, managed and controlled.

Denial of innate yearnings to be a part of the web of life, rather than outside it, has left a vast emotional, psychological, and spiritual void in human beings — a profound alienation. The disconnection has led to a destructive lack of respect for the life-web of the planet, for other human beings, and for deep parts of our own selves.

Consumerism and other addictions, religious escapism, rigid adherence to dogmatic beliefs, militarism, social oppression, pursuit of power for its own sake, cynicism and violence are all indicative of a social failure to meet our spiritual needs for a fundamental sense of connection and meaning.



Technology

Greens support the enhancement and development of "appropriate" technologies. These are technologies which enhance life, efficiently use resources, are sustainable and non-polluting, help instill pride and a sense of purpose in workers, increase leisure and human freedom, and are amenable to democratic and decentralized control. (75%)

The Greens advocate placing a high priority, in funding and in public attention, on the sciences which involve interconnectedness of systems and interdisciplinary studies to promote the development of appropriate technologies. (77%)



Waste Management

Materials and Waste Management

1. We call for major reductions in per capita consumption of materials and significant increases in the efficiency of the materials that are used.
2. We call for maximizing waste reduction and minimizing disposal.

3. We call for shifting the perception of the waste crisis from one of waste handling to one of resource management.

4. We endorse the following hierarchy of strategies for minimizing waste disposal: (1) reduce, (2) reuse, and (3) recycle.

5. We call for public education programs for the general public and in the schools regarding the benefits of the above.

6. We must stop producing what is not needed. We call for (1) production of high quality products that are designed to be durable, repairable, and recyclable at the end of their useful life (as opposed to planned obsolescence); (2) reuse of products in initial form (e.g., reuse of glass bottles); and (3) recycling of discarded products to create new products.

7. We favor recycling of products back into the same type of products (such as old newspapers into new newspapers) over recycling materials into products which displace other materials (such as recovered plastic into plastic lumber which replaces wood and does not affect the use of virgin plastic resins).

8. We call for rapid implementation of residential curbside collection of separated recyclable and compostable materials in all communities where curbside collection of mixed solid waste currently takes place. We call for targeting a wide range of materials for this separate collection (e.g., glass, aluminum, other metals, yard waste, newspaper, corrugated cardboard, other paper, motor oil, plastics, appliances, tires, food waste).

9. In those communities not served with residential curbside service, we call for residents to have the opportunity to recycle and compost a wide range of materials.

10. We call for the mandatory recovery of a wide range of recyclable and compostable materials generated from institutional and commercial sectors.

11. We call for governments (federal, state, and local) to provide low-interest loans, subsidies, or other incentives to encourage locally-owned and operated businesses to make products from recycled materials.

12. We call for governments (federal, state, and local) to develop and implement strategies to encourage stable markets for recovered materials.

13. We call for the local use of more of our scrap materials in order to "close the loop" locally, increase efficient use of materials, promote local self-reliance, and to get the maximum economic benefits from these scrap materials.

14. We call for local governments to give preference to locally owned recycling enterprises in order to create and support local industry, minimize transportation of materials, retain community control of materials, and to stimulate the local economy.

15. States and cities have the right to restrict and control the use of products and packaging that pose an undue burden on the environment. Such materials include nonrecyclable, nonbiodegradable, and toxic materials, and excessive packaging. To this end, we call for implementation of (a) agreements with producers/manufacturers to redesign their products, (b) legislation (bans, taxation, recycled content standards), (c) educational programs (consumer and producer education, and boycott campaigns), and (d) economic incentives/disincentives (taxation, special fees, and/or deposits).

16. We must consider the whole "lifecycle" of a product before it is made. Ecologically responsible production entails: releasing no



persistent toxic substances in production, use, repair, or disposal, frugal use of energy, use of renewable resources, environmentally sensitive extraction methods, and worker safety.

17. We call on those bodies responsible for establishing product standards to include lifecycle considerations in their standard setting process for product approval. We further call for citizen participation in this process.

18. We oppose incineration of municipal solid waste, sewage, nonbiological medical waste, and toxic waste.

19. We call for a moratorium on any new incinerators that burn municipal solid waste, sewage, nonbiological medical waste, or toxic waste.

20. We call for a rapid shut down of existing incinerators that burn municipal solid waste, sewage, nonbiological medical waste, or toxic waste.

21. Until these incinerators are shut down, we call for the strictest air and ash emission standards and the strictest enforcement of these standards.

22. We oppose efforts to exempt municipal solid waste incinerator ash from strict regulation as a hazardous waste.

23. We oppose the open air burning of agricultural wastes that can be aerobically or anaerobically composted or recycled into the soil productively.

24. We call for a return to a returnable/refillable bottle system for food and beverage containers.

25. We call for deposit legislation for glass, metal, and plastic beverage containers.

26. We call for a deposit on all wet and dry cell batteries to encourage collection of these for recycling or handling as hazardous materials.

27. We call for phasing out of non-rechargeable batteries as rapidly as possible.

28. We call for local solutions over dumping waste problems on neighboring communities or relying on distant export markets to recycle our scrap materials.

29. We oppose the traditional siting of waste disposal facilities in poor, minority, or relatively powerless neighborhoods, and other areas of least political resistance.

30. We support grassroots groups in their efforts to address the root cause of the solid and toxic waste generation problems.

31. We endorse the strategy of grassroots groups using Good Neighbor Agreements as a tool to force local polluting facilities to eliminate or reduce toxic emissions, to empower citizens to inspect the facility and challenge unacceptable practices, to allow citizens to independently monitor toxic emissions, to establish regular meetings to monitor and assess the success of the Good Neighbor Agreement, and to enact any other activities relevant to the local situation.

32. We call for the immediate repeal of the Price Anderson Act and all other federal, state, and municipal legislation which limits corporate, government, or individual liability for nuclear and hazardous/toxic waste.

33. We call for legislation to hold private enterprise (both operators and investors) and government operations accountable for all toxic waste dumping, spills, and contamination on or off their sites and responsible for all costs of a complete clean-up.

Disputes regarding the clean-up effort would be settled once the clean-up has been completed. Joint and several liability would be maintained in all cases where individual liability cannot be ascertained or arbitration agreements are not fulfilled. In addition, we call for levying sizable fines on the guilty parties, and aggressive criminal prosecution where warranted. Individual residents would have legal standing in all pollution cases. Revenues collected would be used to compensate victims of contamination for ill health effects and property value losses, and to fund industries and government operations undergoing conversion to ecologically sound operations.

34. We call for the elimination of all toxic releases into the environment as soon as humanly possible. Until this elimination is achieved, we call for strict enforcement (e.g., independent monitoring by use of split samples and citizen inspections) and strengthening of environmental laws regarding the release, production, transportation, recycling, and disposal of any toxic materials or emissions. We also call for the use of more benign toxic waste reduction techniques; e.g., biodigestion, various oxidation processes, glassification.

35. We call for waste audits of, and preparation and implementation of waste reduction and future waste disposal plans by businesses and government operations generating hazardous/toxic wastes as a condition of receipt of operating permits.

36. We oppose shipping of toxic wastes across national borders.

37. We oppose shipping toxic/hazardous or radioactive wastes across any political borders without the approval of inhabitants of that jurisdiction.

38. We oppose deep well injection disposal of toxic wastes because of potential future migration of those wastes into water supplies or other channels affecting the living environment

39. We oppose deregulation of low-level radioactive nuclear waste.

40. We demand that all radioactive waste that remains hazardous for longer than 100 years or is extremely biologically active be reclassified as "high-level."

41. We call for permanent above ground, continuously monitored storage of nuclear waste at or near the sites where it is generated.

42. We call for a ban on all technologies that result in high-level radioactive waste. This includes, but is not limited to nuclear weapons production and nuclear power generation.

43. We call for replacing technologies, processes, and products that are environmentally destructive with alternatives that are not environmentally destructive.

44. Until such time as CFCs are eliminated and replaced with non-environmentally destructive alternatives, we call for the recycling of CFCs rather than their release into the atmosphere. We do not accept the substitution of compounds such as hydrogenated fluorocarbons (HFCs) which also contribute to the destruction of the ozone layer.

45. We should serve as model citizens in our materials use and consumption, and waste generation behavior. For example, we should avoid the use of readily disposable products such as polystyrene foam, we should recycle and compost, we should buy products made from recycled materials when available, etc.





Water & Air

Water

1. The greens support all activities to conserve water resources, and advocate democratic, locally-based control over waste management practices that affect surface and sub-surface waters.
2. The Greens oppose further interference with watersheds, water courses, wetlands, and natural bodies of water (including the oceans), except to heal, rehabilitate, and conserve. We support the conservation and restoration of all fresh waters.
3. The Greens oppose relationships of commodification, private ownership, and financial speculation toward fundamental components of natural ecosystems, such as water, which are necessary to support every form of life on earth.
4. The Greens support development of national, regional, and local groundwater protection policies and long-term management of all aquifers.
5. The Greens aim to phase out and as soon as possible eliminate all public, private, and commercial practices which pollute or degrade existing water resources.
6. Until water can be decommmodified, the Greens believe that residential and commercial water pricing in both rural and urban areas ought to be determined and based on a fair cost for water usage, which applies to all expenses actually involved in water acquisition, transportation, storage, quality maintenance, and restoration. Rate structures should be used to encourage water conservation.

Air

1. The Greens strongly oppose the idea of air pollution or emission "rights," which we see as an unjustifiable commodification of this public natural resource and a recognition of a fallacious "right to pollute."
2. The Greens support drastically reducing or eliminating the emission of any particulates or chemicals which are known to have adverse health or ecological consequences.
3. The Greens advocate reducing the emissions from internal combustion engine vehicular traffic, and encourage the use of mass and alternative transportation.
4. The Greens advocate halting the destruction of existing forests and rainforests, accompanied by ecosystem regeneration.
5. The Greens encourage the large-scale development of renewable, more efficient energy generation technologies, and advocate broad-based small-scale energy production to protect air quality.
6. The manufacture and use of all chemicals which deplete the ozone layer must be phased out as soon as possible.

ATTENTION WORKING GROUP MEMBERS:

If you want balloting percentages for statements or policies that did not pass watch for them in the next *IC Bulletin*.

Program Committee

SPAKA (Strategy and Policy Approaches in Key Areas) statements and policies need stylistic revisions including copy editing, consistent voice, coherence, and elimination of redundancies. The entire document also requires an introduction or preamble to put it in context, briefly introduce the individual SPAKA statements, describe who the GCOC is, etc.

Further, there needs to be a process established for amending current SPAKA statements and adding new ones. There have been at least 20 new topics identified. These include Ecocities, Children, Crime, and Media, to name a few.

Therefore, a program Committee was created by plenary to oversee (1) the style revisions, (2) the drafting of an introduction/preamble, (3) the final ratification process by locals, and (4) the ongoing Green Program development process.

Plenary elected seven members (named below) to Program Committee, striving for gender and geographic balance. Those elected to serve on the Committee at this time will at least oversee (1), (2), and (3). Five of the Committee members might take responsibility mostly for (1) and (2), whereas the other two might take responsibility for (3), tallying objections received from Locals. Rotation of Committee members before embarking on (4) is recommended and encouraged. These members will not serve more than one year and the process for rotating Committee members should be developed in coordination with the restructuring proposal.

(1) Overseeing Style Revisions: The Committee is responsible for hiring and supervising an objective copy editor who will make the needed stylistic changes. The Committee is responsible for setting the timetable for this process and informing Locals.

(2) Overseeing the drafting of an Introduction/Preamble: with this issue of *Green Letter* the Committee requests input from locals and GCOC members regarding the Introduction/Preamble; such input should be sent to the Committee at the address below. The Committee is responsible for reviewing this input, drafting an Introduction/Preamble, and incorporating this into the Green Program. Language, as much as possible, will be taken from material that has been favorably reviewed over the last year. Working Groups are encouraged to submit relevant parts of their own introductions/rationales that are done.

(3) Overseeing Final Ratification of the Green Program by Locals: The Committee is responsible for overseeing this process as described in the Proposal for Final Ratification of the Green Program by Locals.

(4) Overseeing the Ongoing Green Program development Process: The Committee will oversee the ongoing process which involves amending current statements and policies, developing new statements, etc. A procedure for this ongoing process needs to be developed. This should be done in coordination with the restructuring process and the planning group for the next national gathering.

SPAKA statements should be divided into two sections:

1. How and why U.S. Greens are organizing (internally focused document, a sort of members' handbook, this would include suggestions for projects and actions locals might undertake).



2. Political policy positions of the U.S. Greens (i.e. our Program).

MEMBERS OF PROGRAM COMMITTEE

Amy Belanger (Newburg, MO)
Joseph Boland (Eugene, OR)
Shea/Sharon Howell (Detroit, MI)
Keith Nybakke (Minneapolis, MN)
Brenda Platt (Takoma Park, MD)
Susan Riorden (Ojai, CA)
Daniel Solnit (San Rafael, CA)
(Alternate: Budd Dickenson, (Oakland, CA))

PROGRAM COMMITTEE CONTACTS:

Econet: "knybakke"
Fax: (202) 332-0463 - attn. Brenda
Mail: 45 Philadelphia Ave. Takoma Park, MD 20912

If possible, please use the above means rather than telephone to communicate to Committee members with input, corrections, questions, concerns, or kudos. Thanks!

Final Ratification Process by Locals

SPAKA statements ratified by the delegates at Estes Park will be sent back to all Locals (with dues paid up) for final ratification after being modified into a coherent document by the Program Committee (see Program Committee above). This will give these Locals the opportunity to object. The number of votes per local will be based on each local's number of members (paid to clearinghouse at time of publication/ mailing of edited version of SPAKA document late '90/early '91), using the same formula used for the 1990 gathering.

The process for this is as follows:

Policy statements will be printed in the *Green Letter*, which is sent to all members. Eligible Locals can object to (1) an entire SPAKA statement, and/or (2) specific policies contained within a SPAKA statement. The *Green Letter* will encourage GCOC members to review policies and submit objections to their locals.

Eligible Locals are responsible for considering members' objections and may compile and submit a list of Local objections to SPAKA statements and specific policies. These Local objections will be sent to the Program Committee within 8 weeks of publication (deadline will be specified in the *Green Letter*).

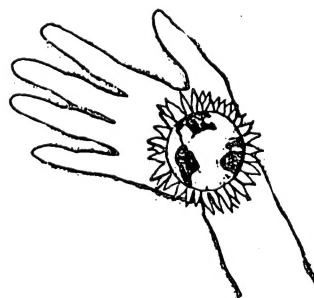
The Program Committee will tally results. If more than 25 percent of the total eligible votes block a SPAKA statement, then that SPAKA statement is not ratified and is removed from the Green Program at this time. If more than 25 percent of the total eligible votes block a specific policy, then that specific policy is not ratified and is removed from the SPAKA in question. If specific policies are removed, additional minor editing may be necessary.

Final results will be reported in the *Green Letter*.

Note: To simplify this final ratification process by locals and facilitate identification of each individual policy, we suggest that policies be numbered within each SPAKA statement.

SPAKA Index

Animal Liberation & Life Forms	53
Arts	55
Community	55
Direct Action	56
Economics 1	56
Economics 2	57
Education	59
Energy	61
Food & Agriculture	64
Forestry	65
Health & Healing	65
Indigenous People	67
Internal Organizing	67
Land Use	68
Peace & Nonviolence	69
Politics	70
Social Justice	70
Spirituality	72
Technology	73
Waste Management	73
Water & Air	75
Program Committee	75
Final Ratification Process by Locals	76



COPY EDITOR WANTED

The Program Committee is looking for someone with good editorial skills and with a background in a Green, social justice, peace, or environmental organization to make needed stylistic revisions to the SPAKA statements/policies ratified by delegates at the 3rd National Gathering in Estes Park, Colorado. This will involve copy editing entire document to make sure it is in consistent voice, is coherent, and redundancies are eliminated. If you are interested, please send your resume by November 16th to Shea Howell, Program Committee, 17210 Steele, Detroit, MI 48235, (313) 341-7749. There may be money available to recompense....



Graphic Credits

Cover: Nancy Adair

Inside cover photo: Neal Cassidy, August 1990, San Francisco; p.2 Bill Stamets; p.3 Bill Stamets; p.6 Richard Keene; p.7 Christine Reagen; p.8-9 Trini Templeton; p.10 Kathe Kollwitz; p.11 Jennifer DaParma; p.12-13 James Lerager; p.7 Nancy Adair; p.18 Miana Jensen; p.19 Solar Research Institute; p.20 Martha Fox; p.21 Nancy Adair; p.22 Fritz Bleyl; p.23 Lionel Feininger; p.24-5 Trini Templeton; p.26 Max Pechstein; p.28 Bill Stamets; p.30 Bill Stamets; p.31 Dziko Standard (age 13); p.32-4 Nancy Adair; p.35 Dziko Standard; p.36-7, 40-1 lizards, chicks—Dover Publications; p.42 Petrus de Crescentiis (1491); p.43-5 Trini Templeton; p.44-6 quills—Nancy Adair; p.46 *The New Catalyst*; p.49 *Shepherd Express*; p.50-1 Nancy Adair



Hodge
d
odge Page

"Tell me more about the Greens!"

If you would like more information about the Green movement, and Green activity in your area, please contact the Green Committees of Correspondence Clearinghouse:

GCoC Clearinghouse

P.O. Box 30208

Kansas City, MO 64112

Become a Green!

Members of the Green Committees of Correspondence receive *Green Letter* and *Green Synthesis* with their memberships. The GCoC Clearinghouse performs a vital function for Green activity and the exchange of Green information. It is always hampered by insufficient funds. You can help the Greens with our work by joining the GCoC \$25 to GCoC.

About Green Letter Production

Pulling together each issue of *Green Letter* is highly labor-intensive. As the Green Movement grows, producing the paper requires ever greater time and resources. Just sifting through our mail and keeping up with Green news is a major task. We are a volunteer effort, and all income, except for \$200 per issue which we pay to a rotating coordinator as stipend, is devoted to much-needed equipment, supplies, and expenses such as mail, phone, printing, etc. The seven GL Collective members put in about 1000 hours per issue, over 80 hours per week, not counting the help we get from others. To meet the demands of GL, collective members need to be able to free up time we spend making a living. We can no longer depend solely on volunteer labor. We also need to raise funds to purchase our own photocopier. To make a long story short—we absolutely need your financial support to sustain *Green Letter*. Please use back cover coupon to donate.

The Greater Kansas City Greens and the Sycamore Press announce the publication of

A Green Story

(a small pamphlet on Green philosophy written by Dee Berry, former Green Clearinghouse Coordinator).

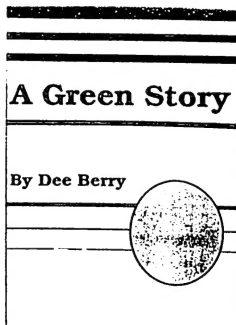
This pamphlet is very useful for outreach, orientation, and can be used as a fund-raiser as well.

Order copies now

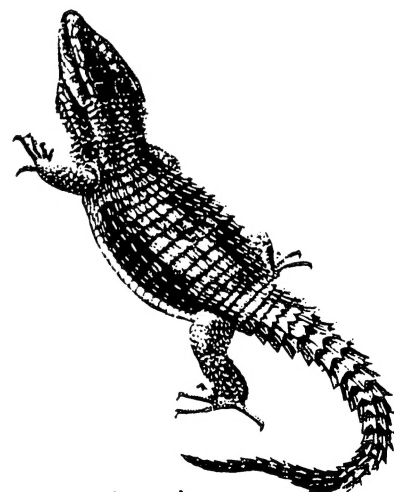
Single copy: \$2.00 (postage .50)

2-10 copies: \$1.50 (postage \$1 per order)

11-25 copies: \$1.00 (postage \$2 per order)



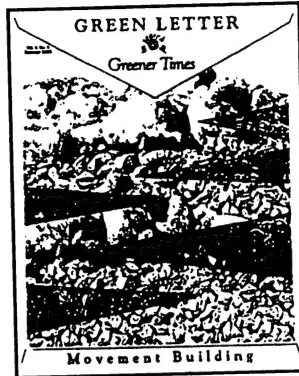
Make checks payable to: Greater KC Greens. Mail order to: P.O. Box 30353, Kansas City, MO 64112.



Hodge
P
odge Page

Green Letter needs your support

Help Build the Greens!



Here's my subscription to *Green Letter*:

- ☐ \$20 regular
- ☐ \$35 supporting
- ☐ \$50 sustaining
- ☐ \$100 deluxe
- ☐ \$_____ make our day
- ☐ \$10-15 low-income

☐ Check here if renewing (include label if you can)

☐ Check here if sending gift subscriptions. Your name:

☐ I already get *Green Letter*, but here's an additional donation of \$_____

Name _____

Address _____

City _____ State _____ Zip _____

Attach additional gift subscriptions on a separate sheet

Two ways you can help *Green Letter*:

Send a special end-of-the-year, tax-deductible donation

Help us expand our coverage of Green actions and organizing. You can help build *Green Letter* and the Greens with a special donation payable to "Tides Foundation/Green Letter."

GREEN Your Friends!

Send gift subscriptions as your holiday presents

You're giving year-long coverage of the Green movement. And your donation supports *Green Letter* and the Greens. For each gift subscription, *Green Letter* will send a card in your name.

The Tides Foundation
Green Letter
P.O. Box 14141
San Francisco, CA 94114

Non-Profit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
San Francisco, CA
Permit No. 1893



697-M